

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

THE GREAT EDUCATORS

IV.

FROEBEL

The Great Educators.

Each Subject complete in one Volume, price 5s.

1. ARISTOTLE, and the Ancient Educational Ideals. By THOMAS DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D.
2. LOYOLA, and the Educational System of the Jesuits. By Rev. THOMAS HUGHES, S.J.
3. ALCUIN, and the Rise of the Christian Schools. By Professor ANDREW F. WEST, Ph.D.
4. FROEBEL, and Education by Self-Activity. By H. COURTHOPE BOWEN, M.A.
5. ABELARD, and the Origin and Early History of Universities. By JULES GABRIEL COMPAYRÉ, Rector of the Academy of Poitiers.
6. HERBART and the Herbartians. By CHARLES DE GARMO, Ph.D.
7. THOMAS AND MATTHEW ARNOLD, and their Influence on English Education. By Sir JOSHUA FITCH, M.A., LL.D.
8. HORACE MANN, and the Common School Revival in the United States. By B. A. HINSDALE, Ph.D., LL.D.
9. ROUSSEAU, and Education according to Nature. By THOMAS DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D.
10. PESTALOZZI, and the Foundation of the Modern Elementary School. By A. PINLOCHE, sometime Professor in the University of Lille. Professor in the Lycée Charlemagne and the École Polytechnique, Paris.

LONDON:

WILLIAM HEINEMANN, 21 BEDFORD STREET, W.C.

FROEBEL

AND

EDUCATION BY SELF-ACTIVITY

BY

H. COURTHOPE BOWEN, M.A.

LL.D.



LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN

1917

First printed, February, 1903.

New Impressions: April, 1905: October, 1905;
July, 1901; October, 1903: August, 1905;
January, October, 1907: August, 1911;
February, 1917.

PREFACE

FOR many years I have been a student of Froebel's principles and methods, not only in books, — Froebel's own and those written by others, — but also in actual practice in the kindergarten. My attention was first called to his system when, as headmaster of a large London school many years ago, I had occasion to notice the extra brightness and teachableness of some little boys who had been, at least partly, trained on Froebel's plan. Some years after this, when under the direction of a small band of public-spirited educational reformers, I endeavored to establish a training college for schoolmasters in secondary schools, my attention naturally was drawn with redoubled force to Froebel. The attempt failed; partly through lack of funds (one of Froebel's constant troubles), and partly through lack of support in the schools. But my four years' labor taught me many things; and amongst others it taught me to sympathize keenly with those who, in furtherance of new ideas, struggle to found educational institutions. What is more to the present purpose, however, is that during that period I learned to see clearly that Froebel's system is the only system in which the details of actual practice are the real outcome of sound psychological

principles, and in their application are continuously governed by those principles. As our knowledge of psychology grows, the principles will certainly require some modification; and in consequence the practice will have to be slightly changed here and there. But if ever the practice ceases to be the distinct expression of the psychology, the plan will cease to be Froebel's.

Ever since the period I have mentioned I have been a frequent observer of kindergartens and of the children in them; and of late years I have had much to do with the examining of students who are trained to be kindergarten teachers. Naturally enough I have often been led to speak and lecture on Froebel's principles and methods, in London, at Cambridge, and elsewhere; and through the courtesy of the editor of the (London) *Journal of Education* some of my lectures have from time to time appeared in his pages. And now, again through his courtesy, I am allowed to freely use such parts of those printed lectures as seem to me useful for my present purpose. They were indeed written with the idea of their some day forming part of a book; but, as they stand in the following pages, they are much altered, added to, and abridged. The chapters of which they form parts are chaps. iii, iv, vi, and viii.

The plan which I have adopted for expounding my subject, will, no doubt, reveal almost at once a certain amount of repetition. This I am quite aware of; though I may say that the amount of repetition is not great. I have chosen this mode of treatment because I have learnt from long experience that it is

the one best suited to students. After giving a brief life of Froebel in chaps. i and ii, I plunge at once into *The Education of Man* in chap. iii, — but only to deal with such of its leading principles and views as are fundamental and at the same time are likely to offer difficulties to beginners. In chap. iv I enter more into the details of the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, and restate some of the principles already spoken of, but now in connection with the games and songs which the book sets forth. It is not until I come to chap v that I attempt any complete statement of Froebel's principles and methods, as far as they refer to physical and intellectual training, — leaving the ethical training for chap. vi.

When through a long period of time one has been a constant student of some particular subject, it becomes extremely difficult to attribute to their right sources all the ideas concerning it in possession of which one happens to find oneself, — and quite out of the question if the possible sources are numerous. Besides, in common politeness to oneself one must consider some of the ideas home-grown, even though they resemble ideas to be found elsewhere. I have, however, done my best to acknowledge all conscious borrowings ; and if it is to be my unhappy fate to have others brought to my consciousness later on, I apologize beforehand, and will make due reparation in other editions.

I have added two appendices at the end of the book ; one giving a chronological list of Froebel's writings, and the other giving the names of such books on Froebel and his system as I myself have found valuable. To have given a complete bibliography of Froebel-

literature would have doubled the size of this volume. I am conscious that there must be many American books on Froebel which I have not mentioned. But though several of these are known to me by name, I have been unfortunate enough never to have seen them.

While the pages of this book were passing through the press they had the very great advantage of being read by Madame Michaelis; and the Index at the end is due to the chivalrous help of my friend Mr. G. F. Bridge. To both I offer my sincerest thanks. The book will always be associated in my mind with the memory of their kindness.

H. COURTHOPE BOWEN.

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION — EARLY DAYS — EDUCATION AT SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY. 1782-1816	PAGE I
II. FROEBEL'S EXPERIENCE AS A TEACHER AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMER. 1816-1852	22
III. THE "EDUCATION OF MAN" — SOME OF FROEBEL'S LEADING PRINCIPLES	43
IV. THE MUTTER- UND KOSE-LIEDER — INFANT GAMES AND SONGS, THEIR MEANING AND EDUCATIONAL VALUE	63
V. FROEBEL'S THEORY OF EDUCATION	90
VI. FROEBEL'S VIEWS ON CHARACTER, CONDUCT, AND RELIGION	108
VII. THE KINDERGARTEN — THE GENERAL NATURE OF ITS PROCESSES — GIFTS AND OCCUPATIONS	124
VIII. TRANSITION CLASSES — THEIR AIM AND METHODS — NATURE-STUDY	152
IX. THE BEARING OF FROEBEL'S PRINCIPLES ON THE SCHOOL AND ON TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION — MANUAL TRAINING — FROEBEL AND PESTALOZZI — CONCLUSION	178
APPENDIX A — FROEBEL'S WRITINGS	197
APPENDIX B — SOME BOOKS ON FROEBEL LIKELY TO BE OF USE TO THE STUDENTS	202

FROEBEL

AND

EDUCATION THROUGH SELF-ACTIVITY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION—EARLY DAYS—EDUCATION AT SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

1782-1816

SOME writers on education, like Locke and Rousseau, direct their attention mainly to the rearing of individuals of a particular class, or at any rate individuals separated from other individuals; others, like Milton and Rabelais, dwell most on the results of education; others again, like Mulcaster, Hoole, and Brinsley, are chiefly busied with the work of a school; others, like Comenius and Pestalozzi, taking a wider view, bring forward the question of popular instruction, and endeavor to found a philosophy and a science of education—though Pestalozzi remains to the end more of a philanthropist than a philosopher. Of all these Froebel most resembles Pestalozzi. Indeed, in more senses than one Froebel is the disciple of Pestalozzi. Not only did he receive his first impulse as a teacher from a study of the writings of the great Swiss philanthropist, but for two years he attached himself to the institute at Yverdon in order to acquire

a personal knowledge of Pestalozzi and his work and methods. Moreover, apart from this, and from his often expressed admiration, his able and enthusiastic exposition of *The Book for Mothers* in his letter to the Princess Regent of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt would alone suffice to show that, in his earlier years at least, Froebel looked upon Pestalozzi as his master. But Froebel is more than a disciple. He is himself an original thinker and an original worker; and in one department of education—and that by no means the least important—he stands by himself, without a rival.

The old, unsound and narrow traditions of the Renaissance lingered on in the latter half of the eighteenth century—as indeed they linger still here and there both in England and America. Except to fond, and not always wise, mothers the child remained supremely uninteresting until he could be put to his book; and when he was old enough for this, “putting him to his book” was all that education meant in fact as well as word.

There had been some improvement in the curriculum of schools used by the less rich classes of the community, an example of which will be found in the school to which Froebel was sent as a boy; but beyond this by no means general reform of the curriculum things had changed but little anywhere.

With all his enthusiasm for education and his desire to found it on a scientific basis, Comenius had had but little scientific knowledge of child-nature, and troubled himself not at all to acquire it. He constantly insisted, it is true, upon the exercise of

the senses, and an education in accordance with nature ; but his exercise of the senses soon reduced itself in the main to the use of pictures with a view to a readier and more intelligent acquirement of language, and even in his *ergastula literaria*, or literary workshops, the manual and other work introduced was intended to aid poor children in partly getting their own living while at school, rather than to exercise faculty ; while his "nature" was as quaint and conventional as that in a pre-raphaelite picture. None the less, however, Comenius was the true founder of educational method. Locke's psychology was based on a knowledge of adult mind, not child mind. He knew little about children under the age of ten or eleven. He wrote about education in a common-sense, man-of-the-world manner rather than as a man of science ; and so his book, though highly suggestive and stimulating, does not always help us, and is at times unsound. Rousseau was the first to show us where and why we were all blundering, when in his brilliant, incisive way he declared that we did not understand children ; that knowledge of child-nature and child-mind was the prime requisite for every teacher ; that we made far too much of books, and introduced them far too soon ; and that we were in such a hurry to force children out of childhood and into manhood or womanhood that we ran great risk of hurrying them into their graves. "Let childhood ripen in children" is the keynote of the new gospel. But when he turned to sketch a practical plan, Rousseau's love of paradox, the disgust he felt for the artificialities of society, the tendency which was in the air to separate

the individual from the general mass and to proclaim his rights, and probably also the example of Locke—all this led him to propound a scheme as fantastic and impossible as ever entered the wayward mind of a madman—to separate the child from his fellows, and set him in a wilderness.

But Rousseau inspired Pestalozzi—to such an extent, indeed, that Pestalozzi actually tried to carry out the plan with his own son. The folly and danger of the attempt, however, soon became apparent, and it was dropped and never resumed. The best of Rousseau's doctrines, nevertheless, were not abandoned; and it was through Rousseau's admirable and convincing exposition that Pestalozzi was persuaded to base everything in his own system on *intuition*, that is, on the effect produced in the mind by direct intelligent perception of real things,—to which Pestalozzi himself added a simultaneous training in language as the means to express the mental activity produced by intuitive exercises. This was a service of great importance to education; and on it his reputation as an originator will always chiefly rest. The department of language-teaching benefited immensely by the plan; but, unfortunately, the study of common objects suffered in proportion, for only too frequently the object itself was not in any true sense observed or made to produce an intuitive exercise, but was simply employed as something about which more and more elaborate statements might gradually be built up. Still, this was not always so, and the applications of the principle of intuition to the studies of form and of number by Pestalozzi's colleagues

under his auspices, have been the prime cause of most of the improvements in method which have since found their way into our schools,—the prime cause, but needing much modification in the mode of procedure. But what Pestalozzi failed to see — at least to see very distinctly — was that before intuition there is a period consisting mainly of sensation and confused emotions, commencing in the very hour of birth, during which the consciousness of the child is endeavoring to work its way towards clearness and precision. He does not ignore the period, as his *Book for Mothers* shows. But he fails to grasp its facts and to arrive at any clear practicable method for its treatment. He provides his mothers, as Professor J. H. Von Fichte points out in his *Problem of Popular Education*, with an A B C of intuitions, whereas what they require is an A B C of sensations and emotions. It is precisely in this period that the genius of Froebel is most at home and most original. Froebel was possessed of large and generous views on education as a whole, and on its methods and results as wholes; but it is the work which he did for the education of infants between the ages of three and seven that chiefly demands our gratitude, so far as his aims have been realized up to the present; in the future, unless I am seriously mistaken, his greatest service will lie in the reforms which his principles and methods will have forced on our schools and colleges. What those principles and methods are it is the purpose of this book to make clear. But before entering on my exposition, it will be best, I think, to briefly relate the events of Froebel's life and educa-

tion and to give a short account of his experience as a teacher and educational reformer, in order that my readers may form some conception of the kind of man he was, and forever put from their minds the idea that he was an enthusiastic but ignorant peasant who was fond of children — an idea which not infrequently seems to haunt the obscurer recesses of the minds of those who even now are bold enough to scoff at kindergartens and their means and methods, and is only too liable to be confirmed by the mere sentimentalities about little children which at times still masquerade as Froebelian doctrine.

Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel was born on April 21, 1782, at Oberweissbach, a village in the Thuringian Forest, in the principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. His father, Johann Jacob Froebel, belonged to the old Lutheran Church, and was the chief pastor of the district.¹ His mother died before he was a year old, so that he could not even remember her. Johann Froebel's parish was a large and scattered one, and gave him far too much to do to leave any great amount of time for the proper ordering of his home, or at least for that constant attention which young children need. The consequence was,

¹ I draw my facts in this chapter mainly from Froebel's *Autobiography*, contained in a letter to the Duke of Meiningen written in 1827, and from a somewhat similar letter to Krause in 1828, and in part also from Dr. Wichard Lange's *Reminiscences of Froebel*, and Hanschmann's well-known *Life of Froebel*, together with articles in various encyclopædias. The *Autobiography*, though of very great value, was not written till Froebel was forty-five years of age, and some allowance must be made for this when we are considering what he says about his earliest years.

that the child was left very much to the care of the servants, who knew how to take advantage of their master's absorption in his work, and in their turn handed the little boy over to the care of his brothers, who were somewhat older than himself.¹ Throughout the whole of his life, he tells us, he was practically a stranger to his father, whose severe religious views hung heavily on the little boy and who never succeeded in understanding the troublesome, dreamy, neglected child. When he was four years old, his father married again, and for awhile the new mother was loving and careful of her stepson. But as soon as she rejoiced in a son of her own, the motherless boy was left once more mainly to the care of his brothers and the servants. That he should become mischievous and unruly, as he tells us he did, was only natural; for of education he seems for some time to have had none but that which his playfellows, and woods, and flowers, and birds, of which he was always passionately fond, unconsciously afforded. When he could get leave—and probably sometimes without waiting to ask for it—he would wander with the others in the forest on the slopes of the Kirchberger Hill,—which rose from the very churchyard in the front of his

¹These were as follows: (1) August, who died young. (2) Christoph, who became the clergyman of Griesheim after having studied at the University of Jena, and died in 1813. He was the father of Julius, Karl, and Theodor, to educate whom their uncle, Friedrich, settled in Griesheim in 1816. (3) Christian Ludwig, first a manufacturer at Osterode, and afterwards (from 1820) associated with Friedrich,—born 1770, died 1851. (4) Traugott, who studied medicine at Jena, became a medical man, and was burgomaster of Stadt-Ilm. There were no sisters.

home,—listening to the wind amidst the branches, and watching the movements of the wild animals; or at times he would work among the plants and flowers of his father's garden. His father taught him to read, but only with great difficulty; and felt too discouraged to attempt anything more; while very unfortunately, the pastor had some difference with the headmaster of the boys' school, and could not send Friedrich there. So, till his tenth year, the boy received no direct regular education of any kind except what he could pick up in the girls' school of the village, where the work consisted chiefly in learning Bible-texts and hymns by heart.

At the end of 1792, when Friedrich was ten years of age, his mother's brother, Superintendent Hoffman, who had long since lost both wife and child, expressed a desire to have the youngest son of the sister he had loved dearly to live with him for the purpose of education. The wish was granted; and for four years the boy had a free and happy life. Hoffman, who held a position of some dignity in the church at Stadt-Ilm, a little city not far off, was as humane as he was distinguished, and as gentle as he was earnest and decided. He sent the boy at once to the town school, where he found plenty of companionship, though through his general backwardness and lack of strength and agility, it was some time before he could take his proper share in the games. But the boy felt that in his uncle's home he was loved and trusted, and was perfectly happy. Looking back at the Stadt-Ilm school some thirty years later, he tells us in his *Autobiography* that the subjects best taught were reading,

writing, arithmetic, and religion. "Latin was miserably taught, and still worse learnt. Here, as in so many similar schools, the teaching entirely lacked the foundation of first principles." In arithmetic he made some progress. But in physical geography, he says: "We repeated our tasks parrot-wise, speaking much and knowing nothing; for the teaching on the subject had not the very least connection with real life, nor had it any actuality for us, though at the same time we could rightly name our little specks and patches of color on the map. I received private tuition, also, in this subject. My teacher wished to advance further with me; and so took me to the geography of England. I could find no connection between that country and the place and country in which I myself dwelt, so that of this instruction also I retained but little. As for actual instruction in German, it was not to be thought of; but we received directions in letter-writing and in spelling. I do not remember with what subject the teaching of spelling was connected; I think it was not connected with any; it hung loosely in the air. I had, besides, lessons in singing and pianoforte playing, but without result." Not a bad list of subjects, certainly, had they only been properly taught; but unfortunately of the two schoolmasters from whom he received instruction, "one was pedantic and rigid; the other was large-hearted and free. The first never had any influence over his class; the second could do (or have done) whatever he pleased with us"; but somehow it did not occur to him to make much use of his opportunity. The consequence was that when Froebel

returned to his father's house at the age of fourteen, he had not learned nearly as much as might have been expected; at best, he thinks, he had acquired some elementary notions of mathematics, a subject of which he afterwards grew to be fond and in which he eventually gained considerable proficiency. This, however, is probably in part an exaggeration. It is extremely difficult to describe accurately in middle life the precise origins of the various influences which moulded our early childhood; and still more difficult is it to assess the precise amount of each influence. Froebel, however, was a dreamy, restless child, who cared little for books, and still less for dry, formal instruction, and so no doubt got less from his school, even such as it was, than he might have done. But he had learnt to love and reverence his uncle—a lesson he never forgot, and his delighted observation of plants and animals had made considerable progress.

The time had now come for Froebel to choose a calling and earn his bread. Two of his brothers, Christoph and Traugott, had already devoted themselves to study, and his father's means would not allow of another son at the university. The result was that, with his own cordial consent, he became, on Midsummer Day in 1797, a two-years' apprentice to a forester in Thuringia, who had also a good reputation as a surveyor and valuer. His object was to learn forestry, valuing, geometry, and land-surveying, so that, by the addition of farming later on, he might become a thorough agriculturist—a calling from which, on the continent, much was expected just at this period. The experiment did not prove wholly a

success. The forester was too busy to devote much time to his apprentice, and though he gave plentiful evidence of many-sided knowledge, he did not understand the art of conveying it to others, "especially," adds Froebel, "because he had acquired what he knew only by dint of actual experience"; in other words, his knowledge was empirical and not scientific. Froebel's life for two years in the forest had four aspects, he tells us: the homelier and more practical life; the life spent with nature, especially forest-nature; the life of study, devoted to mathematics and languages, for which he found a good supply of books ready to hand; and the time spent in gaining a knowledge of plants, in which he was much helped by books on botany lent him by a neighboring doctor. Botany became a passion with him—so much so that he says, "My religious life now changed to a religious communion with nature, and in the last half-year I lived entirely amongst and with my plants, which drew me towards them and fascinated me." He spent some time in constructing a map of the neighborhood, but a great deal was given to solitary reflection. Slowly but surely an idea of the oneness, the continuity, which underlies all nature began to dawn upon him, but not yet in its entirety. Here too, and afterwards at Jena, he reflected on his previous education, and came to the conclusion that the ordinary school methods, which had failed to reach what he felt was within him, were of little value. Some strolling actors came into the neighborhood, and he was enchanted with them, and afterwards suffered a severe reproof from his father for the wickedness of play-going. But the two

years came to an end, and at midsummer, 1799, he returned home, though the forester would gladly have retained his services. His desire for knowledge—especially for knowledge of mathematics and natural science—had become so great that nothing could turn him aside from pursuing it. He only remained at home a few weeks, and then started for the University of Jena to convey some money to his brother Traugott who was studying medicine there. Through his brother's intercession he was allowed to stay on and finish the term, and then an arrangement was made by which he realized some property left him by his mother, and formally entered the university. He gives a formidable list of the subjects, lectures on which he attended: applied mathematics, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mineralogy, botany, natural history, physics, chemistry, accounts, cultivation of forest trees and management of forests, architecture, house-building and land-surveying. He also continued his topographical drawing. "I heard nothing purely theoretical except mathematics," he says, and grumbles at the absence of philosophy. He was dissatisfied. The order of progress in the various courses of study was arbitrary, he tells us, and showed little or no inner connection. He felt this in pure mathematics, still more in applied mathematics, and most of all in experimental physics. The same criticism has been made on other universities outside Germany, and in later times than Froebel's. But the reason for his failing to get all the good he had hoped from his studies lay partly in the fact, which he himself confesses in the case of mineralogy, that "in consequence

of his defective preparation he found insuperable difficulties in his way, and perceived thereby that neglect is neither quickly nor lightly to be repaired." Moreover, his mind was too speculative for the definite routine of university work. Instead of studying hard at a few things, he was thinking about unity and diversity, the relation of the whole of nature to its parts, and of the parts to the whole. His life at Jena, though necessarily frugal and retired, was desultory, and after a year and a half the failure of means brought it to a close. For nine weeks he was detained in the university "carcer" for debt, but this being at length, after much wrangling, discharged, he returned home, not in the best of spirits.

His stay at home was short ; but during it he found time to begin his acquaintance with German literature ; and as he puts it, he began to know the names of Schiller, Goethe, and Wieland. Winckelmann's *Letters on Art* he already knew. Soon he went off to Hildburghausen to study farming with some relatives on his father's side. Here he became distressed — not for the first time — at his relations with his hard, but hard-working father, who was now an old man. He recognized in him "a firm, strong will, and that, at the same time, he was filled with noble, self-sacrificing endeavor. He never shirked skirmish nor battle in the cause of what he deemed the better part ; he carried his pen into action as a soldier carries his sword, for the true, the good, and the right." While pondering over the letter he meant to write in order to reveal himself fully to the stern old man, he received (November, 1801) a letter summoning him home. His father

was ill and almost bedridden, and wanted his help. It is pleasant to know that what was to have been attempted by letter became possible by word of mouth. Father and son were completely reconciled before the former died in February, 1802.

At Easter in this year Froebel undertook the post of actuary clerk in the Forestry Department of the Episcopal State of Bamberg; and again spent much time out of doors in the companionship of Nature and of educated people. In the early spring of 1803, the Episcopal State having been transferred to Bavaria, Froebel gave up his situation and went to the town of Bamberg, knowing that a general survey was in contemplation, and hoping to get an abundance of work. In this hope he was not deceived; but no permanent employment resulted. In 1804 he held the post of secretary and accountant of a large country estate belonging to Herr von Völdersdorf in Baireuth; but only for a short time, as he had already arranged to go in the same capacity to the estate of Herr von De-witz in Gross Milchow, Mecklenburg. He seems to have had an agreeable time in both posts, and to have been particularly pleased with his experience in the orderly management of large affairs. In 1805 his uncle Hoffmann died, leaving him a small inheritance; and after consulting with his brother Christoph, Froebel determined to throw his energies into architecture, and to go to Frankfurt-on-Main to study there. In April he set out; and after visiting his brother at Griesheim on the way, reached his destination in the middle of the year. Soon after his arrival the friend he had come to join introduced him to Dr. Gruner,

the headmaster of the Frankfurt Model School. It was not long before Dr. Gruner, a disciple of Pestalozzi's, became convinced that Froebel was a born schoolmaster. "Give up architecture," he said; "it is not your vocation at all. Become a teacher. We want a teacher in our school. Say you agree, and the place shall be yours." For a while Froebel hesitated; but hearing that his testimonials, which had been sent to some one to read, had somehow been lost, he accepted this as a sign that providence had broken down the bridge behind him, and so frankly and gladly accepted the offer.

Dr. Gruner was right. Work began at once. "The subjects of instruction," Froebel says, "which fell to my share were arithmetic, drawing, physical geography, and German. I generally taught the middle classes. In a letter to my brother I spoke of the impression made upon me by my first lesson to a class of thirty or forty boys ranging from nine to eleven years of age; it seemed as if I had found something I had never known, but always longed for, always missed; as if my life had at last discovered its native element. I felt as happy as the fish in the water, the bird in the air." But after a while this ecstasy subsided, and self-searching, now a settled habit with Froebel, began. In a calmer mood he questioned himself strictly as to the means by which he was to satisfy the demands of his new position. He did not seem to himself to have the kind of knowledge required nor the requisite training. "He perceived very soon," says Dr. Lange, "that the method of instruction must be directed by the laws of development of the human

mind as well as by those of the subjects to be taught; and that the essence of the method is the art of adapting to the momentary stage of development in the scholar the corresponding one of the subject. This law of development he carefully sought; this art he endeavored to make his own. Dr. Gruner perceived the restless striving of his young friend, and gave him for his theoretic outline in pedagogy the writings of Pestalozzi." Naturally these created in Froebel a great desire to know the great teacher and reformer who proclaimed an education in accordance with nature. As soon as the holidays permitted, at the end of August, he started off on foot for Yverdon, and spent a fortnight in the famous Institute. The account he gives of his visit is very interesting; but we have no space for it here.¹ He saw much that delighted him, much that puzzled him, and some things that definitely dissatisfied him. He was deeply impressed by the loveableness and enthusiasm of Pestalozzi, but got little direct help from him. "That Pestalozzi himself," he says, "was carried away and bewildered by this great intellectual machine of his, appears from the fact that he could never give any definite account of his idea, his plan, his intention. He always said, 'Go and see for yourself; it works splendidly' — very good for him who knew *how* to look, *how* to hear, *how* to perceive." Froebel determined to study and reflect; and then to return later.

All his thoughts and endeavors were now directed to the subject of the culture and education of man.

¹ See *Autobiography*, translation by E. Michaelis and H. Keatley Moore, pp. 53-57.

In October he resumed his work at Frankfurt; and not long afterwards a public examination of the school was held. Froebel's pupils did extremely well; and Dr. Gruner's opinion was justified. But little by little the desire grew in him to give up the Model School, so as to have time to prepare himself thoroughly for the work of teaching, happy though his life at the school was. When two years came to an end he found an efficient substitute and retired. Immediately after this he was earnestly entreated by the parents of three boys, to whom he had been giving private lessons in arithmetic and language, to take complete charge of them. The boys were deteriorating rapidly through bad management, and the mother — Frau von Holzhausen — believed that Froebel could save them. Somewhat against his will he accepted the charge, on condition that the boys should be completely handed over to him and live in isolation with him — Rousseau's idea — in the country. His new work began in July, 1807. Very interesting is the account he gives of his observations and reflections at this period with his pupils always under his eyes; of his experiment in giving them gardens and the moral effects to be produced by the cultivation of plants and flowers; and of his studies in pedagogy. Ere long, however, he became convinced that isolation was a mistake as a permanency; that the resulting life was narrow and one-sided; and that he himself required companionship and training. He requested, therefore, and obtained permission to be allowed to take his boys with him to Yverdon. In the later part of 1808 they reached their destination; and for two years lived not

in the Institute, but in close connection with it. The best record of what he saw and learnt there is contained in his letter to the Princess Regent of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (April 27, 1809), which includes his well-known criticism on Pestalozzi's *Book for Mothers*. Again, and still more strongly than before, he felt the inspiration of Pestalozzi's presence: "He set one's soul on fire for a higher and nobler life, though he had not made clear or sure the exact road towards it, nor indicated the means whereby to attain it." Though the power and many-sidedness of the Institute made up for many defects, Froebel, nevertheless, felt keenly the lack of unity in the work as a whole and in many of its departments, and the absence of clear insight into the nature of the means and methods employed. Still his stay at Yverdon was of immense value to him, and he speaks of his two years there as "a glorious time."

We may note two other points of interest. "I studied the boys' play," Froebel says, "the whole series of games in the open air, and learned to recognize their mighty power to awaken and to strengthen the intelligence and the soul as well as the body." The walks, too, — especially when conducted by Pestalozzi, — struck him as admirable, both as bringing boys into cheerful contact with nature and as affording delightful and valuable lessons in practical physiography.

In 1810 Froebel returned with his pupils to Frankfurt; and as soon as his work with them was finished, proceeded (in July, 1811) to the University of Göttingen — resolutely determined to fit himself to the ut-

most for the task of educational reform to which his life was henceforth devoted. He felt that his greatest deficiency lay in languages; and at these he worked with a will — adding, later, physics, chemistry, mineralogy (always a hobby of his), and natural history in general. It is not necessary to enter into the views on life and education which were now taking definite form in his mind; they will be fully explained hereafter. It is only necessary to point out that all his work now and for the future was undertaken solely for its bearing on the science and means of education. The lectures of Professor Weiss on natural history and mineralogy at Berlin were at this time attracting great attention; and in order to profit by them Froebel left Göttingen and entered the University of Berlin in October, 1812. The lectures quite realized his hopes; and more and more there ripened in him the conviction, says Dr. Lange, "that all life, that is, development into a whole, was founded upon one law, and that this unity must be the basis of all principles of development, its beginning and end. This conviction was the result of a profound study of nature in its law of development, and the most careful contemplation of the child." His study of child-nature was continued — and we may add, his livelihood in large measure gained — while at Berlin by his giving lessons in Plamann's Pestalozzian school for boys.

While Froebel was so occupied the disasters of the French in Russia inspired Prussia and other German States with the hope of deliverance from the yoke of Napoleon. In February, 1813, Prussia proclaimed a

general call to arms in behalf of the common cause. It was received with great enthusiasm, and probably for the first time a consciousness was felt of there being a German nation and a German fatherland. Froebel felt it as strongly as any one, and hurrying off to Dresden enlisted in the infantry division of Lützow's famous corps at Easter, 1813, and marched on with it to Havelberg. Of actual fighting his regiment saw nothing, but he enjoyed the life and was delighted with the idea of German unity. But what is more interesting to know is that two Berlin students, much younger than himself, William Middendorff and Henry Langethal, became his comrades. They soon grew keenly interested in him, and in his views and projects, and in the end became his most intimate and devoted friends and fellow-workers. At the end of May, 1814, came peace. In July, Froebel's regiment was disbanded, and by August he was back again in Berlin, and in possession of the post of assistant to Professor Weiss in the Royal Museum of Mineralogy — an appointment which had been promised him when he enlisted. Here he could study his beloved minerals, attend his university lectures, and have plenty of leisure for working out his educational plans. Before very long his comrades, Middendorff and Langethal, found him out, and their intimacy was continued and increased. Things continued so for a while. Then in 1815, he was offered a valuable post as mineralogist at Stockholm, but declined it as out of keeping with his educational purpose. To fulfil this purpose he determined, in 1816, to resign his post; and after many applications for discharge, and many

friendly and urgent remonstrances from Professor Weiss, his discharge was granted. In October he quitted Berlin without confiding to any of his friends exactly what he intended to do. He had, however, declared his ideas to his manufacturing brother, Christian, who lived at Osterode in the Harz district; and Christian had consented to give him his two sons, Ferdinand and William, to educate. They were his only sons, though not his only children, and were aged six and eight years respectively. The plan was to educate these boys with the three orphan sons of Christoph, who had died in 1813. Christoph, it will be remembered, had been the pastor of Griesheim, and his widow and orphan children still lived there. To Griesheim, therefore, Froebel made his way, with funds in his pocket not much beyond the few crowns he had received for a collection of minerals. And so in a peasant's cottage, on November 13, 1816, was opened the well-known "Universal German Educational Institute."

CHAPTER II

FROEBEL'S EXPERIENCE AS A TEACHER AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMER

1816-1852

THE period of learning is now over for Froebel, and the period of teaching and creating begins. Not but that a true teacher must always continue to be in some sense a learner; and Froebel was a true teacher to the end of his life. But he will have no more time for the acquirement of general knowledge or for general study; henceforth all his powers will be concentrated on the study of child-nature, the elaboration of methods for rightly dealing with children, and the putting of these into actual practice. And here I may mention in passing — without laying any stress upon it — a trait in Froebel's character to which reference is often made. To a man who, after long and patient study, is so entirely convinced as he was, contradiction and opposition, especially from those who prefer the light of nature to scientific investigation, must always be hard to bear; and, truth to tell, he bore it but ill. Even with those who were learned, discussion of his plans, in any true sense, was hardly possible for him; though he looked upon himself as perfectly tolerant. Nor was he particularly skilful in expounding his views to the public. This trait made

living and working with him at times very difficult; and it is only fair to his loyal fellow-workers to mention it. But geniuses are proverbially difficult as companions, and Froebel was no exception to the rule. And after all, it is only through the concentration and stubborn courage of such men that the world gets forced to consider their message. While, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the love and self-sacrificing loyalty with which he inspired those constantly around him are the best proof that there was much in him to love as well as to respect.

From Osterode, before coming to Griesheim, Froebel had written to Middendorff at Berlin, inviting him and Langethal to help him in working out the new system of education. In April, 1817, Middendorff came, bringing with him a brother of Langethal, aged eleven; and Langethal himself followed in September.¹ In June, however, Christoph's widow had moved to a little peasant property she had bought at the village of Keilhau in the Schalathal not far from Rudolstadt; and the institute moved with her. Froebel and Middendorff for some time occupied a wretched little hut, with neither door, flooring, nor stove. In November a frame-house was set up in the farm-yard. In June, 1818, the widow made over her little farm

¹ Langethal's brother Christian was afterwards professor in the University of Jena. The autobiographic letter breaks off with 1816; that to Krause is continued to about 1823. After that we have to depend largely on Froebel's own *Letters*, the *Reminiscences of Friedrich Froebel*, by Dr. Lange, Barop's *Critical Moments in the Froebel Community*, and for quite the end to the *Reminiscences of Friedrich Froebel*, by the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow. Of course, also, there is Hansemann's *Life*.

to Froebel, and went to live at Volkstädt. By that time the school numbered twelve pupils. In September of this year Froebel married Henrietta Wilhelmine Hoffmeister, who was two years his senior, and whom he describes as "a lady with a like love of nature and of childhood as my own, and a like high and earnest conception of education." She was a pupil of Schleiermacher and Fichte, and from all we learn must have been an admirable, self-sacrificing, and highly cultured woman. She and Froebel had met in the museum at Berlin. She brought with her an adopted daughter, Ernestine Chrispine, who afterwards married Langenthal. Frau Froebel's father, who was a war-counsellor of Prussia, would give her no dowry; and a hard struggle for existence followed till early in 1820, when Christian Froebel joined the community with his wife, his three daughters,¹ and all his possessions, in order to advance the good cause—just as, a little before, Middendorff, on the death of his father, had devoted the whole of his inheritance to the institute. By 1822 such buildings as were absolutely necessary were built, and better days began. The number of pupils increased, till in 1826 there were fifty-six; but as a matter of fact as long as the administration of affairs was in Froebel's hands the institute never really prospered as it should have done. In 1823 Johannes Arnold Barop joined the Keilhau circle, of which he eventually became the head. On Ascension

¹ These were Albertine, aged eighteen, who married Middendorff; Emilie, aged fifteen, who married Barop; and Elise, aged six, who eventually married Dr. Siegfried Schaffner, later on one of the Keilhau circle.

Day, in 1826, both Middendorff and Langethal were married amidst great rejoicings. For the preceding six years Froebel had constantly tried, by means of pamphlets, to attract attention to his institute and get a hearing for his views. And now, in 1826, he brought out the famous *Menschen Erziehung*, or *The Education of Man*, and founded the weekly *Family Journal of Education*.¹ Unfortunately Froebel had the unbusiness-like idea of publishing these works privately at Keilhau, with the natural result,—they reached few persons who did not already know him, and were a heavy drain on his finances.

But we must retrace our steps somewhat in order to obtain a public outside view of the school or institute which Froebel and his colleagues had created. Ever since the emancipation of the German states from Napoleonic rule there had been trouble in Germany. Amongst the patriots who had fought, and especially amongst university students, there was much enthusiasm for German unity and liberty, and here and there not a little wild socialistic talk. The students of Jena banded themselves into a *Burschenschaft*, or Students' Club, under the protection of the liberal-minded Duke of Saxe-Weimar; and their example was followed in many other places. The excitement culminated in the murder of Kotzebue, an agent of the Prussian government in Thuringia and South Germany, at Mannheim in 1819, by a divinity student. After this Metternich, the prime minister of Austria, found little difficulty in persuading Frederick William III of Prussia that

¹ A list of Froebel's publications with dates, wherever possible, will be found in the Appendix.

strong measures must be taken. Blow after blow was struck from Vienna and Berlin. Many patriotic professors were summarily dismissed, the *Burschenschaften* and other societies were suppressed, and a large number of students were sent to prison. In these circumstances it is not wonderful that such a community as that at Keilhau — which indeed was revolutionary, but only in educational matters, never in politics — should have become suspected; especially as they had adopted the old German dress and let their hair grow long. Pressure from Berlin was brought to bear on the Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt to break up the institute. This he met by appointing Superintendent Zeh, in September, 1824, to inspect and report upon Keilhau and its doings. The inspection took place on November 23; but, finding that this was not enough, the superintendent returned on March 1, 1825, and spent another whole day in the institute. His report was sent in at the beginning of the following May. It has been preserved and will be found in vol. i of Dr. Lange's *Collected Writings of F. Froebel*. So interesting and important is this document that I cannot refrain from quoting a few of its statements. I abridge, but make no other change. "Both the days," says Superintendent Zeh, "which I passed at the institute in the closest intimacy were in every way agreeable to me, highly interesting and instructive, and have raised and strengthened my respect for the institute as a whole, as well as for its director who carried it on and upheld it amid stress of want and care with rare persistence and with the purest and the most unselfish zeal. It was very delightful to feel the

influence which proceeds from the fresh, vigorous, free, and yet orderly spirit which pervades this institution both in and out of lesson time. I found here what is never and nowhere shown in practical life, a truly and closely united family of some sixty members, living in quiet harmony, all showing that they gladly perform the duties of their various positions; a family in which, because it is held together by the strong bond of mutual confidence, and because every member seeks the good of the whole, everything, as if of itself, thrives in happiness and love. With great respect and hearty affection all turn to the principal; the little five-year-old children cling to his knees, while his friends and colleagues hear and honor his advice with the confidence which his insight and experience, and his indefatigable zeal for the good of the whole, deserve; while he has bound himself in brotherliness and friendship to his fellow-workers, as the supports and pillars of his life-work, which to him is truly a holy work. That this union, this brotherhood, so to speak, among the teachers must have the most salutary influence on the instruction and training, and on the pupils themselves, is self-evident. The love and respect in which the latter hold all their teachers find expression in an attention and an obedience which render unnecessary almost all disciplinary severity. In the merriest liveliness with which after lessons they seek the fresh air and jump and frolic together, I saw no real ill-breeding, no rough, unmanly conduct, and not the least immoral behavior. Perfectly free and equal among themselves, reminded of their privileges of rank and birth neither by their

dress nor by their names—for each pupil is called only by his Christian name or some name bestowed on him—the pupils, great and small, live in happiness and serenity, intermingling freely, as if each obeyed only a law of his own, like brothers of one family; and while all seem unrestrained and use their powers and carry on their games in freedom, they are under the constant supervision of their teachers, now this teacher, now that, looking after the games and sports, and some almost always taking part in them, equally subject with the boys to the laws of the game.” The report then speaks of the excellent effect all this must have on the teachers themselves; and then returning to the pupils, continues: “No slumbering power remains unawakened, each finds the stimulus it needs in so large and closely united a family, and also the place, small though it may be, where it can express itself; every inclination shows itself freely and finds an equal or similar inclination which already has found a clearer expression, and by which it can strengthen itself. . . . In this way the boys guide, reprove, punish, educate, and cultivate one another unconsciously by the most varied incitements to activity and by mutual restriction. . . . The agreeable impression which the institution as a whole makes upon a visitor is increased by the domestic order which everywhere is visible, which alone can give coherence to so large a family, by a punctuality free from all pedantry, and by a cleanliness which is rarely to be met with in educational institutions. To this vigorous and free, yet well-ordered, outer life corresponds perfectly the inner life of mind and heart, which is

here awakened and fostered. . . . Instruction begins in the fifth year of the child's life by leading him simply to find himself (get the command of his senses), to distinguish himself from external things and these from one another, to know clearly what he sees in his nearest surroundings, and at the same time to designate it by the right word, to enjoy his first knowledge as the first contribution towards his future intellectual treasure. Self-activity of mind is the first law of this instruction; therefore the kind of instruction given here does not make the young mind a strong-box into which, as early as possible, all kinds of coins of the most different values and coinage, such as are now current in the world, are stuffed; but slowly, continuously, gradually, and always inwardly, that is, according to a connection founded on the nature of the human mind, the instruction steadily goes on without any tricks . . . from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract, so well adapted to the child and his needs that he goes as readily to his learning as to his play; indeed, I was a witness of how the little ones, whose lesson had been somewhat delayed by my arrival, came in tears to the principal of the institute and asked 'whether to-day they were always to play and never to learn, and whether the big boys only were to have lessons?'"

The report next speaks of the classical work, which had only been begun in 1820, and how in the preceding half-year the highest form had read Horace, Plato, Phædrus, and Demosthenes, and translated Cornelius Nepos into Greek. "I could not but be astonished

at the progress which had been made and its thorough accuracy . . . and I was as thoroughly gratified with the instruction as I had been with the educational training. . . . The aim (of the institution) is by no means knowledge and science merely, but free, self-active development of the mind from within; wherefore nothing is added to the pupil from without which does not enlighten the mind itself, strengthen the pupil's power, and add to his joy by enhancing his consciousness of growing power. . . . The aim is to develop the *whole* man, whose inner being rests between the two poles of true enlightenment and genuine religion. . . . Science is held of no worth at Keilhau except as it becomes a more universal means of awakening the mind, of strengthening the individual and guiding him to his highest destiny.¹ . . . What the pupils know is not a formless mass, but has shape and life, and is, if at all possible, immediately applied to life; each one is, so to speak, at home within himself; there is not a trace of thoughtless repetition of the words of others, nor vague knowledge in the pupils great or small. What they give expression to they have inwardly seen, and the expression is given as from inner necessity with decision and discrimination. . . . Everything which they take up they must be able to think; and therefore what they cannot think they do not take up. Even dead grammar with its host of rules becomes living before them, inasmuch as they are taught to study every language with reference to the history, habits, and character of the people to whom it belongs."

¹ This is an exaggeration; though, no doubt, science was *chiefly* valued for its educative power.

The extracts have been rather long ; but I think they will be found valuable. In the whole report there is not one word of fault-finding. Of course after such a statement from a man of good official standing, the Duke could do little or nothing, even had he wished to interfere. But the pressure from Berlin was continued ; so he bade the community dress like other people and cut their hair — a very Solomon's judgment, for really there was nothing else the matter with them.

Unfortunately opposition and detraction did not cease ; and what was worse, one of Froebel's colleagues, a Swiss named Herzog, set himself in stubborn opposition to the principal, and drew Froebel's widowed sister-in-law and her sons to his party. The three nephews quarrelled with their uncle, and left in 1824 ; and Herzog followed, and industriously libelled the institute for some time to come. The consequence was that the number of pupils began to fall off ; the gentry were frightened ; financial troubles returned ; and by 1829 Keilhau had only five pupils.

Meanwhile an event, not without some significance, had occurred. In the autumn holidays of 1828, Froebel and Middendorff went to Göttingen, chiefly for the purpose of making the personal acquaintance of the philosopher Krause. They were well received ; and Krause, who was well read in the works of Comenius, drew Froebel's attention to the noble old bishop's treatise on the earliest education of children, *Schola Materni Gremii* ; and thus probably aided in turning Froebel's mind to the field in which he was to win his greatest triumphs. Nor may we doubt that the visit to one so sympathetic and so learned added con-

siderably to Froebel's interest in Krause's works and the views they set forth.

"When our distress was at its greatest," says Barop, writing of this period, "a new and unexpected prospect suddenly revealed itself to us. Several very influential friends of ours spoke to the Duke of Meiningen of our work. He summoned Froebel to him and made inquiries as to his plans for the future. Froebel laid before him a plan for an educational institute (*Volkserziehungs-Anstalt*) fully worked out and drawn up by us all in common, in which not only the ordinary learned subjects, but also work in the concrete, such as carpentering, weaving, bookbinding, tilling the ground, etc., were used as means of education." The plan was dated March, 1829.¹ One of Froebel's fundamental ideas was that a child should not be treated as only receptive, but also, and more particularly, as a creative, productive being. He was always seeking to find the means for exciting in the child a true feeling of the need for explanations, and to foster his desire for practical usefulness. Manual work in the concrete he believed would do both. But lack of means and lack of teachers had cramped his efforts at Keilhau. Here seemed a golden opportunity, and he threw himself into the scheme with all his energy and enthusiasm. At first the Duke seemed interested and pleased, and things even went so far as an agreement that the institute should be put up on the estate of Helba near Meiningen. But others around the Duke began to grow jealous of Froebel's

¹ It is printed in full in Lauge's *Reminiscences of Friedrich Froebel*, vol. i.

increasing influence. The old charges were revived and circulated. The Duke wavered, and began to withdraw; till Froebel, finding that he was viewed with distrust, broke off all negotiations, and went off to Frankfurt to discuss educational principles and ways and means with his old friends there (May, 1831). We may notice in passing that in a letter to Barop, written while the Helba plan still seemed possible (February 18, 1829), Froebel says: "For a long time the education and management of little children from the third to the seventh year of age has occupied my thoughts." Many reasons, he adds, had made him decide "to erect in Helba in connection with the People's Educational Institute, an institution for the care and development of children of both sexes from three to seven years of age. . . . I do not call this by the name usually given to similar institutions, that is, *Infant Schools*, because it is not to be a *school*, for the children in it will not be *schooled*, but freely developed." Here we have distinctly the first foreshadowing of Froebel's great invention, the kindergarten.

After so many troubles Froebel had almost begun to lose faith in himself; and he needed the counsel and encouragement of his Frankfurt friends to help him to go on. It was while with them that he met the well-known musical composer and naturalist Schnyder. So interested did the latter grow in Froebel's views and projects that he shortly proposed that Froebel should set up an institute in his (Schnyder's) castle at Wartensee in Lucerne. Froebel started off forthwith for Wartensee with his nephew Ferdinand and Schnyder himself, got the

necessary authority of the Lucerne government, and in August issued the prospectus of his new establishment. It was scarcely open before clerical opposition commenced; and so strong was this, that, in spite of the support of such men as Père Girard and the Pfyffers, no pupils entered. Froebel then started a school in the castle, to which a few peasants sent their children. But soon after the arrival of Barop, the situation was found to be untenable. The castle was not well adapted to school purposes, and the situation was inconvenient. So the proposal that they should migrate to Willisau, a small town not very far off, was accepted, and as soon as the preliminaries had been settled, Froebel returned in November to Keilhau. In the spring of the next year (1833) he and his wife rejoined Barop and Ferdinand Froebel; and on the second of May the institute was opened in Willisau with thirty-six pupils. Opposition continued here; but in spite of it the institute was successful. In the autumn of the year, the Bernese government sent five pupil-teachers to learn the new methods at Willisau, and requested Froebel to consider a plan for the founding of an orphanage at Burgdorf, and to come to that town to deliver a course of lectures to young teachers. The lectures were delivered early in 1834, and were a great success. But before this Froebel had accepted the task of founding the orphanage on the condition (which was accepted) that others besides orphans should be admitted to the instruction.

Feeling that his mission in Switzerland was finished, and anxious to return to his young wife, Barop went

back to Keilhau at the end of 1832. His place at Willisau was taken by Langethal; who was soon followed, early in 1835, by Middendorff and Elise Froebel. So Barop became, and henceforth remained, sole director of Keilhau; and by his skill and good management contrived in a few years to bring back prosperity to the parent establishment, to pay off all debts, and to give assistance to the other branches of the community.

In the summer of 1835 Froebel, accompanied by his wife and by Langethal, removed to Burgdorf; and shortly afterwards was appointed by the government as the director of the orphanage, and in that capacity had to give an annual course of lectures to teachers. And so at last, in the town where thirty years before Pestalozzi had labored with such success, Froebel found himself publicly recognized and respected, and his system publicly employed. It was here, amidst his little orphans, as Barop points out, that the conviction grew stronger than ever in Froebel's mind that "all school education was yet without a proper initial foundation, and that therefore until the education of the nursery was reformed nothing solid and worthy could be attained. The necessity for training gifted, capable mothers occupied his mind, and the importance of the education of childhood's earliest years became more evident to him than ever before." It is in this period that his idea of a mission to women may be said to have definitely taken shape and significance. At this time, too, though only for a short while, Froebel entertained a project of going to the United States so as to be able to establish his system in a new country; but

he was persuaded to give it up; and the brothers of his friend Adolph Frankenberg emigrated without him. But, as if rest was never to be his, he found ere long that it was impossible for him to remain at Burgdorf. His wife's health had completely broken down, and she was longing to return to Germany. The doctors also urged her going. So Langethal and Ferdinand Froebel were appointed directors of the orphanage;¹ and in June, 1836, Froebel and his wife bid Switzerland a final farewell and went to Berlin.

When Froebel came back from Berlin to Keilhau in 1837, the idea of an institution for the education of little children had fully taken shape in his mind. Barop took rooms for him in the neighboring small town of Blankenburg. And here he forthwith put his new scheme into practice, establishing what he called "Anstalt für Kleinkinderpflege," or an institution for the fostering of little children. It soon began to attract attention. The dowager Princess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt came to see his experiment. Barop and Frankenberg won the adherence of several people both at Dresden and Leipzig. In January, 1839, Froebel himself gave an address at Dresden at which the Queen of Saxony was present; and a month later he gave another at Leipzig. But in the midst

¹ In 1841 Langethal left the community and accepted the direction of a girls' school in Bern — a step which Froebel never forgave. After Froebel's death he returned to Keilhau and spent his last years there. Ferdinand Froebel continued to be director of the orphanage till his death at a somewhat early age, when in recognition of his services a public funeral was granted him. Willisau was given up as a Froebelian institute when the Jesuits came into power in 1839.

of all this a great sorrow fell upon him and for a while completely paralyzed him. His wife, who had been out of health for some time, but who nevertheless had been of the very greatest help to him at Blankenburg, died in May. Her loss seemed irreparable; but soon, to win if not consolation at least temporary forgetfulness, Froebel plunged more eagerly into work than ever. Already several young teachers had been sent to him to learn his system; and now he organized a set of training lectures to meet the demand. By the end of 1839 two infant schools were opened at Frankfurt under masters whom he had trained; while before that Middendorff, the staunch and self-sacrificing, had returned to be Froebel's other and more eloquent self, after an absence from wife and child of four years. Froebel had long racked his brains for a really suitable distinguishing name for his new institution; but hitherto without result. "Middendorff and I," says Barop, "were one day (about this time) walking to Blankenburg with him over the Steiger Pass. He kept on repeating, 'Oh, if I could only think of a good name for my youngest born!' Blankenburg lay at our feet and he walked moodily towards it. Suddenly he stood still as if riveted to the spot, and his eyes grew wonderfully bright. Then he shouted to the mountain so that it echoed to the four winds, 'Eureka! KINDERGARTEN shall the institute be called!'"

Froebel now determined to make a great effort to put the whole establishment at Blankenburg on a satisfactory footing, and to include in it a training college in which women teachers should be shown how

to deal with little children up to the age of seven. On May 1, 1840, an appeal for subscriptions was issued; and meanwhile he took advantage of the four hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing (June 28), to make his scheme well known to Blankenburg and the neighborhood. He succeeded so far as to get the municipality to grant him the free use of a place to work in; but very few of the shares of his joint-stock company were taken up either then or afterwards. As of old, insufficient means and bad management made life a hard struggle. In 1844, Blankenburg had to be given up; and Froebel determined to travel about Germany and expound his views, taking with him his faithful and eloquent friend Middendorff. Just before leaving Blankenburg, however, in 1843, he published a book which was destined to become the most popular of all his works, the charming song and picture book for mothers and little children, *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, with which I shall presently deal very fully. In the summer of 1844, Froebel and Middendorff started on their travels; and visited in succession Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Darmstadt, Cologne, Carlsruhe, and Stuttgart. Next year they visited Saxony, and had the pleasure of seeing at Dresden the kindergarten which had been established there by Adolph Frankenberg, and which was directed by his young wife. But the results of this journey were few and unsatisfactory; nor were those of the journey of 1846 any better. Discouraged by the reception he met with from men, and from professional teachers in general, Froebel henceforth more than ever addressed himself to women,—mothers and

teachers,—and during the winters 1846–47 and 1847–48 gave courses of lectures specially for them at Keilhau. The number of those who attended was not large; but among them we may mention Middendorff's daughter Alwine, who afterwards married Dr. Wichard Lange, and Luise Levin, who was destined to become Froebel's second wife. His constant association with women, as M. Guillaume has remarked, is very distinctly traceable in the choice of *occupations* which Froebel made for the kindergarten. A congress of teachers, called by Froebel, met at Rudolstadt in 1848; but he made little impression on them, and indeed met with considerable opposition; and in the autumn he went off to Dresden to deliver a triple course of lectures, theoretical and practical—this time with decided success. In the spring of 1849 Froebel returned to Keilhau; and then settled at Liebenstein in the Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen, intending to train kindergarten teachers there with Luise Levin as his assistant. Here it was that he met the ablest and most public-spirited of his disciples, the Baroness Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow, to whom as an individual the kindergarten movement has owed more than to any one else except Froebel himself; and here he won the at least partial adherence of the great Diesterweg, who sent him his own daughter as a pupil. Towards the close of 1849, at the request of the "Women's Union," Froebel went to Hamburg to lecture on women's education; and though at first his audience showed that they missed the easy, clear eloquence of Middendorff, who had had a great success there earlier in the year, in the end he had every reason to be sat-

isified. It was on this occasion that he made the personal acquaintance of Dr. Wichard Lange. Unfortunately the "Women's Union" had also asked Karl Froebel to lecture. He had separated himself from his uncle in 1824, and was now a professor at Zurich. Karl Froebel was an advanced liberal, of the party of "Young Germany." His talk was somewhat revolutionary, and his theme the emancipation of women. It was inevitable that in the official mind some confusion should arise between the uncle and the nephew.

In the spring of 1850 Froebel was back at Liebenstein; and shortly afterwards was able to move to Marienthal, a little country-seat in the neighborhood, the use of which as a training college had been obtained for him by the kind intervention of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow. The evening of his life seemed likely at last to be calm and happy. In August, 1850, he organized a very successful children's festival at Altenstein hard by; and in the same year founded a new *Weekly Journal of Education* under the editorship of Dr. Lange. In July, 1851, he married Luise Levin, to give her a home and to have some one whom he loved to look after him; and both were calmly and sincerely happy. Suddenly a blow was struck at him from Berlin. On August 7 appeared a decree, issued by the Prussian minister of education and religion, von Raumer, forbidding the foundation of kindergartens in Prussian states. "It is evident," said the minister, "from a tract entitled *High Schools for Girls and Kindergartens*, by Karl Froebel, that kindergartens form a part of the Froebelian socialistic system, the aim of which is to

teach children atheism. Schools, therefore, which are directed on Froebel's or on analogous principles cannot be tolerated." The confusion between the uncle and the nephew was manifest; and at first Froebel and his friends thought that it would be easy to get the interdict removed. But all their efforts were in vain. It was not for the first time that the government had had its eye on Froebel. The minister would not allow that he was mistaken; and the interdict remained in force till 1860.

What hurt the old teacher most, who of all men was most truly religious, was the accusation of atheism. But in a little while he plucked up his courage again. If Prussia was closed and the movement misrepresented and checked, still the rest of Germany was open. He threw himself with redoubled ardor into his work at Marienthal. On April 21, 1852,—his seventieth birthday,—a happy family gathering to celebrate the event cheered him considerably. But immediately afterwards the Hamburg papers began discussing his orthodoxy; and the old man was deeply pained to find that some people considered him anti-Christian. At Whitsuntide a general conference of teachers was held at Gotha, and Froebel was asked to attend. Diesterweg's public approbation, and the sense of the injustice of the interdict, no doubt strongly influenced those present; but something more was meant when, on the old teacher's entrance, the whole assembly rose to their feet. He spoke on natural science teaching, and was listened to with great respect and attention, and given three hearty cheers. It was a triumph; but the end was near.

On his return to Marienthal his health gave way (June 6), and he took to his bed. Middendorff was summoned at once, and did not leave him again. During those last days his mind was constantly occupied by thoughts of the religious aspect of his work. He frequently spoke of this to the friends who had gathered round him. He remained quiet and happy, and, as of old, showed great delight in flowers. But gradually day by day he grew weaker. At last, on June 21, murinuring "God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen," the old friend and benefactor of children fell asleep.

Froebel rests in Liebenstein; and Middendorff, who followed his old comrade eighteen months later, lies in Keilhau at the foot of the Kirschberg. Christian Froebel had died in January, 1851. In the latter part of 1852 the Marienthal training college was moved to Keilhau, and there carried on by Middendorff and Friedrich Froebel's widow. After Middendorff's death (November 27, 1853) Froebel's widow continued the work for a while, and then gave it up to become director of the Public Free Kindergarten in Hamburg. Dr. Wichard Lange lived and worked for the cause till 1884. Barop lived for many years, came into a rich inheritance, and enjoyed many honors. The University of Jena bestowed on him a doctor's degree at its jubilee, and the Prince of Rudolstadt appointed him councillor of education.

CHAPTER III

THE "EDUCATION OF MAN"—SOME OF FROEBEL'S LEADING PRINCIPLES

THE *Education of Man* was published at Keilhau in the year 1826. It is a somewhat condensed, and not always very lucid, statement of what Froebel thought education should mean—of what he and his friends were trying to make it mean in the Institute of Keilhau. He begins by setting forth his general conception of the universe, and of the meaning of man's life therein; he proceeds next to expound, illustrate, and apply several of his leading principles—occasionally endeavoring to establish the truth of some of them on a sound psychological basis, and following the human being, more or less systematically, through childhood, boyhood, and youth. Lastly, he explains how he would have us deal with the chief subjects of school instruction. But in this respect his views were not fully worked out until much later. He assumes that his conception of the universe and his statement of the law of evolution will be readily understood and accepted without proof. But inasmuch as these assumptions are liable to unduly increase our difficulties at the very outset, I will, before going any further, endeavor to make clearer to younger students the somewhat pan-

theistic view of creation which Froebel sets forth, and state briefly what is here meant by evolution.

In a quaint old book, written more than two hundred and sixty years ago, and called *Religio Medici*, Sir Thomas Browne, amongst a multitude of other things, discourses (in part i, sect. 18) on what men call fortune or chance. He tells us that in this world of ours, according to his view, "there is no liberty for causes to operate in a loose and straggling way, nor any effect whatsoever, but hath its warrant from some universal or superior cause." And then, after showing how much of what we call chance can, by the help of a little more knowledge, be readily seen to be not chance at all, and, like Bacon in his *Essay on Atheism*, insisting that man's ignorance makes him rest in "second causes" instead of proceeding to a higher primary cause, he sums up his opinion in these words: "Though we christen effects by their most sensible and nearest causes, yet is God the true and infallible cause of all; whose concourse (*i.e.* concurrence, co-operation), though it be general, yet doth it subdivide itself into the particular actions of everything, and is that spirit by which each singular essence not only subsists, but performs its operation." The *Education of Man* opens with almost the very same words. In the *De Imitatione Christi* (bk. i, chap. 3) we read: "The man to whom all things are one, who refers all things to one and sees all things in one, he can stand firm and be at peace in God." So, again, Carlyle's views as described by Froude,¹ are strikingly like Froebel's: "God to him was the fact of facts. He looked upon this whole system of vis-

¹ *Life of Carlyle*, vol. ii, p. 6.

ible or spiritual phenomena as a manifestation of the will of God in constant forces — forces not mechanical but dynamic, interpenetrating and controlling all existing things from the utmost bounds of space to the smallest granule on earth's surface: from the making of the world to the lightest action of a man. God's law was everywhere; man's welfare depended on the faithful reading of it. Society was but a higher organism, no accidental agreement of individual persons or families to live together on conditions which they could arrange for themselves, but a natural growth, the conditions of which were already laid down. Human life was like a garden 'to which the Will was gardener,' and the moral fruits and flowers, or the immoral and poisonous weeds, grew inevitably according as the rules already appointed were discovered and obeyed, or slighted, overlooked, or defied." The idea of God in nature was not invented by Froebel, nor by Sir Thomas Browne, nor by Carlyle. We can follow it back through hundreds and hundreds of years. Wherever there has been monotheism, or even a tendency to monotheism, there, in one form or another, has the idea been present. Men starting from the causes they could readily recognize, and working back to other causes behind these, and so back and back from cause to cause, from whatever part of knowledge they might set out, have always seemed to be gradually drawing towards one central fundamental cause of all. This central first cause many have called God. If they hold that this first cause has no existence apart from the universe in which it works we call them pantheists. But numberless

others, like Browne and Wordsworth, for instance, while recognizing, and even insisting upon, the constant presence and operation of God in the universe, hold that God has also a separate existence of his own. This was Froebel's view. It does not contradict Christianity. We may call Browne, and Wordsworth, and Froebel pantheistic Christians. But here a warning is needed. Since all things live and have their being in and through God, and the divine principle that works in each thing is the essence of the life of that thing (*sect. 1*),¹ all things are liable in Froebel's mind to become symbols; not only to be *adopted as and made into* symbols, but in their very essence to *be* symbols, made for our learning, part of the indirect means used by God to reveal and express himself. So in *sect. 69* of the *Education of Man* (and still more in a treatise written 1811) the sphere becomes the symbol of diversity in unity and unity in diversity, and of other abstract ideas. In *sects. 70-72* Froebel finds strange sermons in the faces and edges of crystals; and in *sect. 73*, the numbers 3 and 5 in connection with plants and flowers have as many mystic meanings as *abracadabra*. Other instances might be added; but these will be enough to indicate the presence here and there in the *Education of Man* of a symbolism which has no real connection with its fundamental principles or with the argument drawn from them, and which is often very confusing.

Another difficulty has to do with the theory of evolution, or, as it is often called, development. Like

¹ The references throughout are to Hailmann's translation of the *Education of Man*.

all other great truths, the law of evolution has only "part by part to man revealed the fulness of its face." It existed in fragments and partial applications before Darwin, and Wallace, and Herbert Spencer. They proved it and extended it; but Froebel's great claim to distinction will always rest on the fact that he was the first to apply the theory soundly and completely to education, and, having so applied it, to translate it into practice. Even Spencer—whose psychology Froebel's most nearly resembles, and many pages of whose *Essay on Education* might have been taken straight from the *Education of Man*—stops short at general precepts, not always complete nor always possible. Froebel alone translates psychological principles into psychological practice.

Let me try to state, as clearly as I can, this theory of development as applied to education (sects. 8, 23). The first thing to note in the idea of development is that it indicates, not an increase in bulk or quantity (though it may include this), but an increase in complexity of structure, an improvement in power, skill, and variety in the performance of natural functions. We say that a thing is fully developed when its internal organization is perfect in every detail, and when it can perform all its natural actions or functions perfectly. If we apply this distinction to mind, an increase in bulk will be represented by an increase in the amount of material retained in the mind, in the memory; development will be a perfecting of, so to speak, the structure of the mind itself, an increase of insight into the connectedness of knowledge, an increase of power and skill and variety

in dealing with knowledge, and in putting knowledge to all its natural uses. The next thing to consider is how this development is produced. How can we aid in promoting this change from germ to complete organism, from partially developed thing to more highly developed thing? The answer comes from every part of creation with ever-increasing clearness and emphasis—development is produced by exercise of function, use of faculty. Neglect or disuse of any part of an organism leads to the dwindling, and sometimes even to the disappearance, of that part. And this applies not only to individuals, but stretches also from parent to child, from generation to generation, constituting then what we call heredity, or what Froebel calls the connectedness of humanity. Slowly through successive generations a faculty or organ may dwindle and decay, or may be brought to greater and greater perfection. As Froebel puts it, humanity past, present, and future is one continuous whole. The *amount* of development, then, possible in any particular case, plainly depends partly on the original outfit, and partly (and as a rule in a greater measure) on the opportunities there have been for exercise, and the use made of those opportunities. If we wish to develop the hand, we must exercise the hand. If we wish to develop the body, we must exercise the body. If we wish to develop the mind, we must exercise the mind. If we wish to develop the whole human being, we must exercise the whole human being. But will *any* exercise suffice? Again the answer is clear. Only that exercise which is given at the right time, which is always in harmony with the nature of the

thing, and which is always proportioned to the strength of the thing, produces true development. All other exercise is partially or wholly hurtful. And another condition, evident in every case, becomes still more evident when we apply these laws to the mind. To produce development most truly and effectively, the exercise must arise from and be sustained by the thing's own activity—its own natural powers, and all of them (as far as these are in *any* sense connected with the activity proposed) should be awakened and become naturally active. If, for instance, we desire to further the development of a plant, what we have to do is to induce the plant (and the whole of it) to become active in its own natural way, and to help it to sustain that activity. We may abridge the time; we may modify the result; but we must act through and by the plant's own activity. This activity of a thing's own self we call self-activity (sect. 9). The mind is generally considered in the light of its three activities of knowing, feeling, and willing. The exercise which aims at producing mental development must be in harmony with the nature of knowing, feeling, and willing, and continually in proportion to their strength. And further, it is found that the more the activity is that of the whole mind, the more it is the mind's own activity—self-produced, and self-maintained, and self-directed—the better is the result. In other words, knowing, feeling, and willing must all take their rightful share in the exercise; and in particular, feeling and willing—the mind's powers of prompting and nourishing, of maintaining and directing its own activities—must never be neglected.

These are some of the main principles of that universal law to which Froebel so often refers, and of which his system is the most thoughtful and diligent application. They must, therefore, be the perpetual guide of every teacher. But Froebel carries the law further. "To be wise," he says (*sect. 4*), "is the highest aim of man." Now mankind as a whole, and the individual man, just as all other created things, are alike subject to this law of evolution. The truest wisdom, the greatest happiness and peace, lie in intelligent, willing, self-submission to, and in intelligent, vigorous fulfilment of, the law of our being and our life — in living by this law and acting the law we live by without fear. Man must, therefore, be led to a consciousness of, an intelligent insight into, this law as the ruling life-principle in nature, in humanity, and in himself. For so only will man attain to wisdom; so only will mankind and the whole creation move forward to godlike completion and fulfilment, and "burst at length into the perfect flower." It is Froebel's ceaseless endeavor to show us how this consciousness, and insight, and knowledge of the law of all life may be awakened and made clear and kept effective. This is another essential part of his system. But though it is constantly a source of strength, it is also at times a source of weakness in the views he sets forth; for in ceaselessly trying to make law and unity apparent in everything, Froebel is occasionally drawn into artificiality and mere fancy, as, for instance, in some of the applications of his "reconciliation of opposites," or "connection of contrasts," by which he means the rendering evident of likeness and

relationship underlying difference or apparent opposition.¹

I do not propose to rewrite the *Education of Man*, but only to bring forward and make clear its main principles, and to explain their application to practice. And since later on I shall deal very fully with the ethical part of Froebel's method, I shall now restrict myself almost entirely to what has reference to intellectual and physical development.

I said just now that development depends on the exercise being given when it is needed, at its being in harmony with the nature of the thing, and in proportion to the strength of the thing exercised. From this we get at once the highly important principle that there must be *continuity* in education. As that which is exercised grows constantly capable of higher and more varied activity, so must the exercise given grow continuously higher and more varied in character—keeping pace with the development, never outrunning it too eagerly, nor lagging lazily behind—every stage growing naturally out of that which precedes. If we now add the principle that we should aim at the development, and therefore at the exercise of the human being as a whole, we shall see that education as a whole should be continuous—every part related to every other part, every part helping and advancing every other part. The interconnection of all the parts of education, and of all the parts of knowledge

¹ Thus, the opposites "rest" and "motion" are reconciled by the idea of the composition of forces. In the former the forces exactly neutralize one another; in the latter they do not. (See *Education of Man*, sect. 25.) This principle will be returned to later.

used in education, is called by Froebel *connectedness*. This view is considerably strengthened when we observe that, to the young child, as to primitive humanity, all knowledge does, as a matter of fact, come as one whole, and that the subdivision into subjects and departments is a very gradually evolved plan, for the most part wholly artificial, and only adopted for the sake of convenience. Moreover, the very nature of knowledge itself teaches the necessity for connectedness. Facts in isolation, and unrelated to one another, do not form knowledge. Facts have to be compared, classified, organized, connected, before they become what we call knowledge. Knowledge grows when new facts are rightly connected with facts already arranged and organized, and when the connections perceived are made clearer and clearer, and are widened and deepened and multiplied. And so, since education has largely to do with inducing the right acquirement of knowledge and the right use of knowledge, the task of the educator must largely consist in bringing out, and making clear, and maintaining the connectedness of facts and things. Education should be one connected whole, and should advance with an orderly and continuous growth—as orderly, continuous, and natural as the growth of a plant (*sects. 22, 46*).

Now let us apply another part of the law of development—that which requires self-activity. In dealing with the material world around him, the child cannot add to the quantity or variety of material; but he can observe it, search into it, and find what is not immediately apparent to look or touch; and he can discover

relations between the different parts of a thing, or of one thing to other things. All this may be his own work, may be produced by self-activity. But the interest a child can take in observing is limited and of short duration; the search for what is not immediately apparent is often either beyond his powers or only yields results as yet unintelligible to him; the discovery of relations deals too much with what is more or less abstract to have much meaning or value for him at first. Moreover all this, even when it is produced by self-activity, does not satisfy other conditions of development. In two respects it is distinctly one-sided: it has to do almost wholly with mental activity, and that mainly *knowing*, the physical nature being given little or nothing to do; and it is restricted to taking in and to partial assimilating; while development, as we have described it, or as a moment's thought will show, consists in taking in, assimilating, *and giving out*. Moreover, knowledge is to be given at the right time. Mind-growth is aided by the mind being enabled to take in the kind of knowledge it needs, just so much of it as it needs, and just when it needs this knowledge; by its being enabled to work this knowledge up into its very self, and to use it as a means of life. Therefore observation and discovery are not enough for our purpose—especially in the earlier years. Something must be added to them—something which renders more of the human being active, and which has to do with giving out or expression. Now, though we cannot add to the quantity or variety of material, we can modify its form, and we can arrange it in new

combinations. This work, or *doing*, will call into activity more of the mind; will require the co-operation of some of the physical powers; readily takes the form of giving outward definite expression to ideas and mental images; and it is easily united to observation and discovery, and is immensely improved by being so united. This making of new forms and combinations (rising from the merest imitation of models up to the most original inventions), this giving of definite expression to ideas and mental images, this "rendering of the inner outer," is the great Froebelian doctrine of *creativity* (see *sects.* 23, 94, etc.) It is the practical application of the principle of *self-activity*, and, together with the doctrines of *continuity* and *connectedness*, it forms the true heart of Froebel's system. It gives their very life-blood to all the songs and games; and it is the living principle in all the occupations, which without it are mere sticks and stones, and bits of paper. We need not be dismayed at the quaint religious views at times mixed up with it (*sect.* 23). A religious form of expression is as natural to Froebel as foliage to a tree. The principle, taken as a clue to difficulties and a test of method, will be found of great assistance. Year by year the recognition of it steadily grows; and it may some day change the character of a great part of our education. Meanwhile it is not wholly unfamiliar to many of us in that somewhat limited application of Froebel's precepts which we call *Sloyd*.

I might now go more deeply into the psychological aspect of creativity, and show how, in aiding the child to express itself, we are aiding it in learning to

discriminate between itself and the sensuous world around it,—aiding it in the recognition of its own identity,—a most important matter in the growth of mind (*sect. 44, etc.*). But this would take me too far into the region of psychology pure and simple, and so I will turn to consider some of the most striking applications which Froebel makes of this doctrine of expression.

It was natural enough that a disciple of Pestalozzi's should have much to tell us about the educational values of form, language, and number, and the necessity for keeping these closely connected; and that Froebel himself should constantly deal with them, not as parts of knowledge, but as instruments of expression. It was natural, too, that a man with Froebel's psychological cast of mind and earnest desire to get at the inner meaning of things, should seek in all of these for their primary components or elements. Such an analysis must always be valuable as a training, and the resultant knowledge must itself, as a guide, be very useful to a teacher. But mankind has never begun with elements. Human knowledge and the results of human activity have always been at first confused, inexact, indefinite, containing much which afterwards proved to be useless — though for a time, like an alloy in metals, it made the material work better. Progress in the race, and in the individual, has always been an advance towards clearer perception, greater exactness, a more decided marking of limits, and the discarding more and more of all that is extraneous. A child's work, and a child's knowledge must always begin in this way, and progress in this

way. It does not seem to me that Froebel always keeps this fundamental principle sufficiently in view; or perhaps it would be fairer to say that when he wrote the *Education of Man*¹ Froebel had not yet fully grasped the value and significance of this principle. Rosmini saw it clearly enough, and suggests more than one application of it. But Froebel seems now and then to be premature in his insistence on the use of elements. In particular his drawing for older but still young children, in the *Education of Man*, except in sects. 36 and 37, mainly reduces itself to work in checkers with straight and curved lines (which he considers elements). He seems to think that children see the outlines of things, and gives them the elements of outline to work with. But children — and a great many adults also — do not see outlines at all at first, or only very dimly. Things appear to them as masses of color, or of light and shade, with edges not by any means sharply defined. We should begin with masses of color and light and shade, and work gradually towards improvement of outline — at least so it seems to some of us. I fancy Froebel may have at first thought that the drawing of forms of life was too difficult and that in it there was too much imitation and too little inventiveness. I readily allow the inventiveness exercised by his plan, and I think the

¹ Froebel lived twenty-six years after writing the *Education of Man* (1826), and during that time published many valuable articles and essays. When shall we have these translated? It should be borne in mind that the system of *Gifts and Occupations* did not take its first form till about 1836 (Gifts 1 to 5), or its final form till about 1844. In this final form there is a marked advance on much that is laid down in the *Education of Man*.

checker-work full of useful suggestions, and a valuable introduction to writing — though I think the sticks and rings are much better. But I hold that the inventiveness is far too little free, and very liable to resolve itself into what is mainly mechanical. Checker-work also affords but little help in exercising expression, for that to which it gives outward visible shape corresponds but in a very limited way to what is in the child's mind. It rather suggests new things to the child than expresses thoughts already his. On the other hand, I would urge that we do not expect children's drawings to be at first much more than barely intelligible; the drawings should be expressions of what the children think about and care for, as Froebel himself says (sects. 36, 37); and by modifying and rearranging details, or re-grouping things as wholes, forms of life may be made to give plenty of scope for invention. Nor should we forget that if we are to keep education as one connected whole all through, then children should draw the things which they see and touch, which they count and read about and are told of — just as they should be exercised in speaking about the things they touch and see. This, in fact, is the view which Froebel himself more fully adopts in his later writings.¹ In the *Education of Man* his methods for little children are only partly worked out; and many of them require the modifications which they afterwards received. In many of these the mistake, if I may call it one, consists in building up the subject from its elements, instead of working upon

¹ See the paper "Des Kindes Zeichenlust" (The Child's Delight in Drawing) in the volume of Froebel's essays entitled *Die Pädagogik des Kindergartens*.

what the child knows, and developing that. It closely resembles the mistake of beginning language with grammar and grammar-exercises. But here it is only the very initial stage which suffers to any extent, the higher stages in number and speech being in many ways excellently handled; while the treatment of the initial stage itself was much modified when, after 1840, Froebel had had some experience in actual kindergarten work.

The constant theme of the *Education of Man*, as I have said, is the application of the law of evolution to education, an exposition of how the development of the whole human being is to be produced — not only in early childhood, but from birth continuously onward to full-grown manhood. It is addressed not only to teachers, but also to parents, especially mothers — in many parts mainly to mothers; and the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* is only a riper statement and more detailed exemplification of a part of its theories and methods — also chiefly for the benefit of mothers. Indeed, there is nothing more admirable in both these books than the enthusiastic recognition of the high meaning of domestic duty and the keen insight into, and the vivid description of the educational value of household work. The way in which we are made to feel the true dignity and educative power of all necessary human labor is something almost unique; and compels us to recognize that Froebel is the wisest guide for nursery, and kindergarten, and school, because he deals with their problems as one who has already attained to a true philosophy of life. We do not only gain professional

knowledge as teachers through studying his books, we also learn to live out our own lives more wisely, more strenuously, and more fruitfully; and win in every way a wider sense of human fellowship. Next to this striking, this philosophic utilization of common human work, not merely as a means for bread-getting, but as a means of spiritual development, what will most probably catch a student's attention is the utilization in the same manner of children's play and their love of stories. Many writers before Froebel recognized the value of play in early childhood. Plato, Quintilian, Luther, Fénelon, Locke, Richter, and others, all noticed some of its beneficent effects. But to Froebel alone belongs the credit of having seen its true evolutionary meaning, and the part it should take in education. This idea in its fulness did not come to him at once. In the *Education of Man* its significance is suggested rather than distinctly described; and it was not till many years later that its application to kindergarten methods was completely worked out. But that application — which shows such insight, resource, and originality — marks an epoch in the history of education. Very noticeable too is what is said of stories (*sect. 98*), and how they exercise the intellectual, aesthetic, and ethical sentiments — though no moral, Froebel warns us, is to be tagged on to them. But it is in the use to which Froebel put them in later years that he is most original. They serve to bring the whole of the work of the kindergarten into close connectedness and to keep it connected. They deal with the things which the children have observed and handled and constructed;

they use and improve the children's vocabulary and mode of expression; they are enlivened and dramatically made intelligible by the songs and games; and they are pictured out and made sources of new interest by drawings, paintings, and objects of various kinds, some new to the children, and some their own work freshly constructed for the particular story. The right and full use of the story is the most difficult task a kindergarten teacher can undertake. A charming and fresh manner is much, but it is not everything — careful thought is required, and with this a skill like that of the conductor of an orchestra, to bring out in right place and in right pitch all that every instrument should contribute to the music of the whole. But all this belongs to a later stage in the development of Froebel's views.

Two other points in this remarkable book must at least be referred to here, though the full treatment of them must be left for a later chapter: Nature-study and the educational value of Art. The importance given to nature-study (and with it, later on, gardening and the keeping of pet animals) was no doubt originally learnt from Pestalozzi. But, like all great artists and thinkers, Froebel rarely borrows anything without giving it a new significance and a wider application. In nature-study the knowledge of external fact is not the only thing, nor the chief thing, which he seeks. Besides exercising faculty he desires that the young should gradually and continuously come to feel and to see that laws underlie all organic formation, and that conformity with those laws is the fundamental, unvarying condition of all true every-sided

development towards perfection—in other things first, and then in themselves; while gardening and the care of animals should, in addition to this, also make labor a pleasure and a duty. So, again, when using art as an instrument of his system (*sects.* 84, 85), he does not undertake to form artists, but seeks to awaken the ideal side of human nature, and to produce in the young a feeling and a perception that in all beauty there is a perfection of the thing after its own kind—another experience of the beneficent results of law and harmony.

I have now, I trust, fairly opened out the essentials of my subject, so that henceforward I may move more freely, and not be obliged, whenever I refer to fundamental ideas and leading doctrines, to describe in each case what these are and on what precisely they are based. I have not attempted to explain, or even to refer to, all that is expounded or suggested in the *Education of Man*. It is not my desire to rewrite the book, or to save students the trouble of reading it—I should be no true friend to them if I did. My endeavor has been to make as clear as in my power lies certain matters which experience has shown me must be first clearly understood—at any rate, in their simpler forms—before any real comprehension and appreciation of the rest is in any way easy or perhaps possible. When I have examined Froebel's other great book, the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, I shall return to the subject of principles and doctrines, and shall endeavor to set these forth more fully and more connectedly, both in their relations to intellectual and physical education and in their relation to ethical

training and social well-being. Meanwhile it may not be out of place here to warn the enthusiastic student that Froebel's educational system — which he went on modifying and improving to the very last month of his life — was not looked on by him as a stationary, completed thing, a stereotyped plan to be handed from one to another, and to be reproduced with mechanical, unchanging imitation ; nor as a light and airy fancy which any gentle heart can build on a summer's afternoon, — the sole prerequisites for which are liveliness and a love of children. Education, in Froebel's view, is the application of the law of evolution, of the laws of all life, to the training of human beings. These human beings and these laws of life have both to be studied and understood ; and, therefore, as long as our knowledge of life and of nature increases, as long as our knowledge of mankind increases, as long as our knowledge of children increases — as long as all these become clearer, better defined, and more accurate — so long must our ideas of education grow and develop, and our methods of education be changed and modified and improved. As well as liveliness and a love of children, a kindergarten student must possess a knowledge of psychology and a mind capable of scientific modes of thought.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUTTER- UND KOSE-LIEDER—INFANT GAMES AND SONGS, THEIR MEANING AND EDUCATIONAL VALUE

A PERIOD of seventeen years separates the publication of the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, or *Songs for Mother and for Nursery*, from that of the *Education of Man* — a period of constant school work, of careful observation and experiment, and of much thoughtfulness. Just as the *Education of Man* was in the main the outcome of Froebel's ten years' experience in his own "Universal German Educational Institute" at Keilhau, so the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* was one of the results of three years' experience in the kindergartens of Blankenburg, Rudolstadt, and Gera — and of course of the gathered and organized experience of all the years which preceded these. In June of 1840 the first kindergarten was opened at Blankenburg, as we have already related. In the next year a small collection of *Koseliedchen* was printed by Froebel. And in 1843 this collection was expanded and developed into his famous *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*. Froebel's letters¹ to his friends and fellow-workers during the three years referred to, show very clearly the care with which the songs were collected and submitted to mothers for experiment and criticism. Writing to

¹ Edited by Hermann Poesche, and translated into English by Emilie Michaelis and H. Keatley Moore, B. A., B. Mus.

his cousin, Mrs. Schmidt, in 1841, for instance, and referring to the earlier collection—the *Koseliedchen*—Froebel says, “To help the child to use his own body, his limbs, and his sensations, and to assist mothers, and those who take the place of mothers, to the consciousness of their duties towards the children and to a lofty conception of those duties, I have carefully preserved several little songs and games as they have occurred to me in the course of my life.” He asks for her severest criticism, and adds, “If you could give the little songs to mothers who have quite young children, so that they may test them thoroughly, or if you are able yourself thus to try them, I should be above all things delighted.” That Froebel aimed at producing something other than a mere everyday baby book of rhymes and pictures is evident on even the briefest examination. Besides we know that he made the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* the foundation of his own lectures on theory to kindergarten teachers. “I have here laid down,” he repeatedly said, “the fundamental ideas of my educational principles. Whoever has grasped the pivot idea of this book understands what I am aiming at.” “This book is the starting-point of a natural system of education for the first years of life; for it teaches the way in which the germs of human dispositions should be nourished and fostered, if they are to attain to complete and healthy development.” Let me give an example—a brief, but a fairly representative one, *The Weathercock*. We have a picture—a rough wood cut—of a country scene. A group of children are in a meadow. The wind is blowing. There is a weathercock on the

church steeple. One boy flies a kite; another holds up a flag; and a little girl lets her handkerchief flutter in the wind. In the background the wind blows about the clothes which are hung out on a line to dry. More to the front it tosses the branches of the trees; and even ruffles up the feathers of the cocks and hens. At the top of the picture is a hand, held up so as to represent a weathervane. Beneath it are a motto (addressed to the mother) and a little song which the mother may sing to her baby. The motto runs thus:¹

If your child's to understand
Things that other people do,
You must let his tiny hand
Carry out the same things too.
This is the reason why,
Never still,
Baby will
Imitate whatever's by.

The song is to this effect :

As the cock up on the tower
Turns in wind and storm and shower,
Baby can bend his hand and learn
To get new joy at every turn.

Even in the original this song is a very poor production, and decidedly below the general level of the rest. But, to be quite frank, Froebel is not a good writer of verse even for very little people. Later on we are given a tune for the song, and Froebel's own explanation of the picture and the use to be made of it. Briefly stated, the subject of the picture is to attract

¹ I quote from the translation by Frances and Emily Lord.

the child's attention to its own experiences both past and to come, and to serve the mother as a subject to talk about to the little one. Either while looking at the picture or when looking at a weathercock, the child may be given a useful little physical exercise. It should be shown how to hold its forearm vertically, spread out its fingers horizontally, keeping the thumb erect, and then imitate the weathercock by moving the hand slowly to and fro from the wrist, while the mother sings the song which baby will also imitate. We have thus a little lesson in observation, language, physical exercise, and simple singing, fitted for a child of about two years of age; and it should be noticed that it all springs from the picture, which speaks to a little child much more intelligibly and forcibly than any words can ever do. But this is not all. The child can feel the wind and see its effects; but it cannot see the wind. Here then is a force—a something with power to do—which can be distinctly perceived and yet not seen. Of course we cannot, and we should not, attempt to explain to the child what the wind is, for it would not understand our explanation; but as Froebel points out, the child will get an inkling, a hint, of an unseen power in nature—"a being that is in the clouds and air" to use Wordsworth's phrase—and though it is but a very small and dim experience of the unseen and the spiritual, yet it will serve. It is enough for so small a child, and should not be tampered with by any intrusive adult. It is a very minute matter, no doubt, but must not be overlooked on that account. The whole book is an attempt to deal with minute beginnings, fine points leading

to fine issues, which in the end are by no means minute.

It must be borne in mind that the book is in the first place addressed to mothers; and what is set forth is intended for home use. But, inasmuch as the kindergarten is a continuation and expansion of home-life, the same spirit and purpose which should inspire and direct the nursery should inspire and direct the garden of children, its games and songs and stories and occupations. To understand the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, therefore, we must study it, not as merely containing something to be reproduced in the kindergarten, but as containing practical and concrete illustrations of principles and modes of action — which illustrations will in practice require to be changed and modified whenever the circumstances and surroundings of the child are changed.

Before entering further into a description and discussion of the book, let me mention some of its drawbacks, so that these may no further trouble us. I have already pointed out that the verses are in general distinctly poor. The pictures too are somewhat rough and ill-drawn, but, on the whole, adequate. Children do not show any decided preference for highly finished and elaborate works of art — any more than for extravagantly beautiful dolls and other toys. In fact it is just as easy in pictures as in language and other things to be much too artistic for little people. It is, however, a serious defect to find that there is no definite arrangement or sequence in the book. In one song the baby is in arms; in the next he is some four or five years old; and then back we

come again to the age of two. Instead of addressing the mother in the heading or motto only, and making the songs the simple wording of the child's own natural utterances, or a simple address of the mother to her child, Froebel addresses the mother in the songs themselves (as in *The Little Boy and the Moon*, etc.). Or, again, here and there, a song and game is introduced—as in *The Garden Gate*, or *The Little Gardener*—not so much for the purpose of actual use, as for the sake of drawing the mother's attention to what the child should do when out of doors; while in a few cases—as in *Longways and Crossways*—the allegorical interpretations are much too fanciful and far-fetched. Nevertheless, Froebel is right in saying that the book, as a whole, will teach us what he is aiming at; and if we come to it with some slight knowledge of his principles, we shall find it of the greatest value as a guide to practice. With all its imperfections—which after all are not many when compared with its merits—it is absolutely indispensable for a kindergarten teacher; and to no one can it fail to bring renewed assurance of the use and entire feasibility of much that otherwise might be set down as fancy or mere air-drawn theory.

According to Froebel, as I have already pointed out, education is an all-sided continuous development. In its broad outlines it is the same for the individual as it has been for the race. Development is produced by exercise—exercise of the limbs, of the senses, and of the mental powers. The mind is reached through the senses, and Froebel urges that from the very first the senses should be as far as possible exercised as

organs of the mind, and not as the organs of mere sensuous pleasure or of mere desire, as in animals; and the activities generally, as far as may be, should be made expressions of mind, or at least kept in close association with ideas.¹ This is of the utmost importance for the growth of the higher or distinctly human nature. It may be described as the very life and soul of his method. What these ideas are we learn partly from the study of infant-child nature and partly from the study of the infancy of the race. We shall have enough to say about them presently. The limbs, the senses, the mind, the child's inner self, are awakened into activity by what surrounds the child, touches him, attracts his attention. This environment Froebel considers under three heads: Nature, Man, and God. The first consists of all material things, organic and inorganic. The inorganic are treated of mainly in the well-known *Gifts*. The organic—which we may divide into animate (birds, beasts, etc.) and inanimate (trees, flowers, etc.)—are dealt with mainly in the songs and games, and the nature-study connected with these. The second head, Man, explains itself; it consists first of the mother and the nurse, then of the father, brothers, and sisters; and so on. It too forms a large part of the songs and games. The third, God, is that living power, which the child will learn to feel and perceive pervades all things, and gives to all things their existence and

¹ See *Reminiscences*, by Baroness von Marenholtz Bülow, chap. xvii. So Wordsworth urges us to acquire the “glorious habit,”

By which sense is made
Subservient still to moral purposes,
Auxiliar to divine.

life;¹ on which his own existence and life depend; and which will gradually become for him the creator and loving father of humanity. I need scarcely repeat that the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* is full of efforts to lead the child step by step to a consciousness of this.

When attracting the child's attention to physical nature, Froebel insists that we should never lose sight of the abstract or spiritual side of things; they should suggest or reveal ideas to the child, or be associated with ideas. In this way only shall we help the child to free itself from the world of material and of the senses, and rise into the world of mind and spirit. To prepare the child for what is abstract he calls its attention to what it can feel and hear, but not see,—as the wind in *The Weathercock*,—to what it can see, but not hold or touch,—as the light in the *Light-Bird*, and so on. But, perhaps, what he insists

¹ In Wordsworthian language:—

A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

Here, and frequently again later, I illustrate Froebel's doctrines by quotations from Wordsworth, partly to show how much alike were the views of these two great prophets of nature; and partly to lessen that sense of singularity in Froebel's ideas which seems to daunt young students. In many cases one cannot say an idea was Froebel's, or this man's, or that man's. It was but one of the many ideas, new or newly revived, which at the time were stirring through all Europe, and which were part of that general ferment and outburst which we call the "French Revolution." In many cases also the ideas were undoubtedly of Froebel's originating; and indeed all those which he used may in a sense be called his from the way in which he organized them and applied them to education.

on most, especially when dealing with organic nature, is our leading the child to feel and perceive the presence of all-pervading law and orderliness, and the connectedness of things. Plants and flowers and animals help us most to accomplish the former; and the songs and games about them are numerous.¹ Connectedness is introduced on almost every occasion, but is brought out most clearly in what relates to human occupation. So in *Pat-a-cake* the cake suggests flour and the miller; these suggest corn and the farmer; the corn, the field where it grows so wonderfully; its growth, an unseen energizing and fostering power. The same point is dwelt upon in *Mowing Grass*, and elsewhere. How things thrive best in their proper places is brought out in *The Fish*. And here I must mention another principle. The child — as indeed most grown-up people — finds it hard to realize and understand what is wholly or even partly subjective; what is objective is far more noticeable and intelligible. The child's inner self is in a manner made objective (or "outer," as Froebel would say) by his own actions and creations, and by noticing the actions and creations of other children; and just so far as these go does that self become conscious and intelligible to the child. And this is one of the chief reasons why Froebel makes so much of creativity or originating self-directed action. In such songs and games as *The Nest* and *The Chickens* he presents

¹ So Wordsworth says, —

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sagea can.

objectively to the child the watchful care and love of a mother for her little ones, and so helps the child to more consciously realize its own mother's care and love, and its own feeling for its mother; while the exercises for hands and arms besides being physically valuable, are first attempts at creativeness; and this, moreover, is fostered by the pictures and by such a game as *The Little Artist*. I shall not attempt to give all the points of the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*; but there is one other chief point under this head of Nature, which must not by any means be omitted. This is that, while tending his pet animals and plants (as in *The Little Gardener*), the child will be awakened to the fact that all living things require care and love; that love must show itself in action. He will also in this way, gain first impressions of duty and responsibility; and he will learn to love labor and to use labor for the pleasure and help of others (as in the song and game of *The Basket*). While if we bear in mind the fact that it is generally the sight of animals that first awakens in children a desire for knowledge, we shall realize more clearly the value of bringing children among them and them among children.

Let me say here in passing that the *Taste Song* and the *Smell Song* seem to me both unwise and far-fetched; in some respects even untrue. The senses of taste and smell are of very little value as knowledge-getters, or as instruments of discrimination, though they help the memory in matters of association; and hence, if at an early period we specially call attention to them and specially exercise them, and still remain simple, natural, and true, it is inevi-

table that they should be awakened as “the organs of mere sensuous pleasure”; and this we have already agreed with Froebel himself to be very far from desirable. The ordinary events of everyday life exercise these senses quite sufficiently.

The child's first relations with mankind begin in the family. The first union is between the child and the mother, or whoever is allowed to take her place. It begins in the complete physical dependence of the child. But as the months go by, and the child grows less and less physically dependent, the need for fostering and developing the union in mind and heart grows greater and greater. Here again we have to spiritualize and link with ideas what is physical or material, if we desire to cultivate the child's human love and feeling of community. We must present the matter as far as possible objectively, as has already been pointed out; and we may employ another Froebelian means, viz., the making of a thing clear by the help of its opposite; though this last is dangerous wherever the feelings are prominently concerned, and should only be used with the greatest care. It is this last which Froebel uses in *Hide and Seek* and *Bo-peep*, endeavoring to make the temporary or momentary separation attract attention to, and call out and exercise delight in reunion. The danger, in the former at any rate, is very evident, as Froebel himself acknowledges. Mothers are rather liable to indulge in such pleasing inaccuracies as “I can't tell where baby is!”—and these, and the fun itself of concealment, are very likely to induce a habit of lying and concealing for fun's sake. This idea of fun, as

we all know, is a very common cause—commoner than fear—of a child's untruths, when these are efforts at hiding facts. Again, in the songs and games of *The Windows*, in which the contrast between light and darkness (the happiness of the former, the unhappiness of the latter) is made very prominent, there is no small danger of increasing the child's dread of darkness rather than his love of light, in the simple, direct physical sense. Besides, darkness is a perfectly natural normal phenomenon, and should therefore be at least not hated. In *Bump, see how my Baby's Falling!* and *Hide, Baby!* we have a simpler presentation of the mother's protecting love and of the value she herself sets on her child. In the former the child's nervousness at the exercise is only wakened to be completely reassured: in the latter, the mother will on no account let her little one be carried off by any person whatever. The ideas of brotherly and home union, and the feeling of community are brought out with considerable success in *The Family* and *Happy Brothers and Sisters*,—though the commentary of the former contains a most eccentric disquisition on the marvellous number five. The family life, as Froebel says, is the medium best fitted to promote the growth and expression of the good, pure heart and the thoughtful, pure mind; the true home—and after it and with it the kindergarten—will provide ample opportunity for the practice and illustration, in their earliest forms, of all those many-sided virtues which St. Paul binds together under the one beautiful name of human charity. But from the home as centre the child's human kindness and de-

sire to help are to spread in ever-widening circles outward till they embrace, for the full-grown man or woman, all nations of men whom God hath made for to dwell on all the face of the earth—reaching at length, and mingling with and becoming one with, the love of our Father which is in heaven.¹ Froebel endeavors to supply exercises for the first stages of this outward growth in *The Riders and the Good Child*—“good” in the nursery sense—and *The Riders and the Cross Child*; and his leading idea is that men are attracted to, and drawn together by, what is good and bright and cheery, and repulsed and disunited by what is ill-tempered and sulky. By keeping this aspect prominent he hopes to avert the danger of conceit and self-righteousness:—

Five Riders come riding with all their speed!
And in our court-yard each stops his steed.
“And what do you wish, you Riders bold?”
“To see your child. He’s good, we’re told.
For gentle as little pigeons gray,
And frisky as lambs he is, men say.”

Then, finding the report to be true, after a while they ride away singing, “The child is good! The child is good!” In the other case, without any song, they pass on to seek a happy good child elsewhere. So again in *The Church Door and Window* the

¹ How thoroughly Froebelian is the idea expressed in Wordsworth’s well-known lines:—

Love had he found in huts where poor men lie;
His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

coming together of men and women to church is used to exercise the feeling of community, of oneness. With this idea of human fellowship is naturally united that of general connectedness and mutual dependence in working, which I have already mentioned as being introduced into almost all the Games and Songs relating to human occupations: *Mowing Grass, Pat-a-cake, The Charcoal Burner, The Carpenter, The Wheelwright, The Joiner, The Shopman.* To the children whom Froebel contemplated these occupations were all familiar. He kept in touch with the children's own everyday lives all through. English and American kindergarten teachers must remember this when making their selections — in every part of the songs and games, but most especially in this part — and not choose what is merely picturesque and romantic. For what is the great lesson — besides those already mentioned — which Froebel desires to teach here? It is the dignity of work — the high value and religious worth of all into which man puts his whole skill and love and strength, whether it be the building of a cathedral or the cleaning of a chimney: not the equal outer value of result, it is true, but the equal inner value of honest labor honestly achieved. Carlyle himself — who held so many of the views which Froebel also held — did not see into the religious nature of all true work more clearly than Froebel did. "Labor is life; from the inmost heart of the worker rises his God-given force, the sacred celestial life-essence breathed into him by Almighty God; from his inmost heart awakens him to all nobleness, to all knowledge — self-knowledge

— and much else, so soon as work fitly begins." The words might have been a quotation from the *Education of Man* or the book we are now considering.

This point is of such crucial importance, and is so often lost sight of when games and songs are being chosen for the kindergarten, that it is almost impossible to over-emphasize it. The *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* were collected and composed and organized some fifty years ago for little German children — mainly those who were surrounded with country sights and sounds and occupations. A very small amount of consideration will show that for little English or American children — especially when they live in cities — something different will be required, if a similar effect is to be produced.¹ We shall require what is English or American, or what has become such. All of physical nature, of the country, that we can actually bring into the cities, that we can place and keep within the sight and touch of children, we should of course use freely. For the rest, we must draw upon the children's homes, and upon the actual life by which they are surrounded. To do otherwise is to break at once with Froebel. For these little city children we should not tell of *The Fish in the Brook* but of *The Sparrow in the Street*; not of the *Nest* with its birdlings, but of

¹ Writing to his cousin, Frau Schmidt, in 1840, Froebel says: "My second remark is that it is of no consequence that precisely these songs and these tunes shall be sung which have been suggested by myself. They have been merely put forward by way of example, so as to show in a general way the spirit as well as the form and complexion of the whole scheme; others may, perhaps, find much prettier, more suitable songs, although I have of course taken pains to select the best I could find — best in form and feeling, as well as having the clearest words and the prettiest tunes."

The Cat and her Kittens; not of *The Charcoal-Burner*, but of *The Costermonger*, *The Cabman*, *The Newspaper Boy*, *The Watercress Woman*; not of *The Wolf and the Boar*, but of *The Dog*; and even instead of playing at “mowing the grass” it would be better for these little city children to play at “sweeping the room.”

Actual life and actual nature around them—or which can be placed close to them—are the Froebelian means of education. Because *The Charcoal-Burner* is more picturesque, more romantic, than *The Cabman*, that does not make him more, it makes him less effective for our purpose. It is with cabmen, not charcoal-burners, that so many little city children have to do. What Froebel bids us is to make the life and doings of the cabman interesting—yes, and even beautiful in their way—for the little ones who come in contact with them; and so with all the physical world that comes within touch of the children; till the very stones in the dingy pavement become wonderful, full of suggestion, part of the golden chain that links the world to God. For children in a higher station we must of course treat more prominently of the workers and the things which come nearer to them; but even for them we shall never omit anything simply because it is too lowly or too ordinary. Our test should always be the prominence and closeness of the thing or worker as far as the child’s own life is concerned; and gradually we should lead the child out into sympathy with a wider and wider circle of life, and work, and nature.

Was immer mit dem Kinde Du auch treibest,
Mach' dass in Lebens Ein gung Du verbleibest.

— *Mowing Grass.*

Always, whatever with a child you do,
Remain in touch with its own life all through.

As Froebel tells us. And again he says:—

Doch theuer Dir dabei
Des Kindes Reinheit sei.

— *The Wolf and the Boar.*

Yet therein dear to you should be
The child's young spirit's purity.

I am afraid we are not, even in the kindergarten, careful enough with regard to the delicate spirit purity of which Froebel speaks. There are kindergartens in which *The Cat and the Mouse* is a favorite game. I have seen the little people in another acting and illustrating *Who Killed Cock Robin?* To our somewhat blunted adult feelings this story may and does appear simply droll and picturesque; but if examined more closely, with a view to its use as a means of education, it will be seen to be a story of violence and a grotesque funeral. At best it is only calculated to amuse, and is therefore not Froebelian. At worst it is likely to exercise feelings not of the tenderest and most reverent kind, and therefore, again, most certainly not Froebelian. Let any one contrast it for a moment with Blake's *Dream*, so full of delicate sweet sympathy with the tiny emmet, and he will see at once what I mean — or rather what Froebel means. I do not propose to abolish such rhymes, and other kindred fairy and folk stories — which do very well for adults — but only to exclude them, when essentially coarse in grain, from the kindergarten. Fairy stories and folk tales, when essentially beautiful, and when

sound and sweet in their ways of looking at things, have their place always in our gardens of children,— and a most important place it is,— but not in the connection of which I am speaking. Here it is the real living life and the personal observation of it with which we have to deal. Children, of course, do not and cannot understand the theory, the philosophy, of the songs and games. That is a matter for the mother and the kindergarten teacher. But the pictures, the songs, and the games produce on them impressions which awaken and stimulate them to renewed observations of what is around them, and to consciousness of certain feelings. Children must always be receiving impressions of some sort. It is the business of education to select, make prominent, and regulate those which may best contribute to healthy and natural development.

It is part of our common knowledge how the maker and what he makes rouse the curiosity of children, and rivet their attention — leading them at times to try experiments which we, their seniors, must perforce turn grim at and deplore. Here again stands enchantingly open to us one of the doors of knowledge, which Froebel did not fail to see. From the very first he would accustom the child to consecutive action and productive occupation — creativeness, as he more frequently calls it; and in these games, and later in the kindergarten, he has provided ample opportunity for what he aims at. Pictures, here, are of great value in their suggestiveness, and as aids to the imagination; and Froebel uses them freely. They are indeed, as we all know, the natural written language

of children from the earliest years; and even we, grown up men and women, often find that they express for us clearly and memorably what words can only hint at. Speaking of the pictures in the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, Froebel begs us not to be too harshly critical on their style and art. "The book is the first attempt of the kind [to express *teaching* by pictures for little children] . . . made with such an aim and in such a spirit; it was sure to be imperfect." Imperfect they are, no doubt, these pictures; but nevertheless of very decided value, as has been already stated. Besides as Browning makes *Fra Lippo Lippi* say:—

We're made so that we love,

First when we see them painted, things we have passed

Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see.

And as Mr. Thring once said to me, in many of our schoolbooks pictures would often be much more helpful to the young than the most learned and elaborate annotations.¹

The relations of man to God are usually classed under the head of religion. Now religion, according to Froebel, consists in fulfilling the will of God by actively, and in every way effectively, living out the life which God has given us. To be able to do this, all our faculties of body, mind, and soul must be fully and harmoniously developed; we must gain a clear knowledge of our own natures and of the laws of life and we must desire, of own free-will, to submit to and fulfil those laws. I have already given some idea of how that development is to be produced, how the

¹ See the note given later on p. 129 of chap. vii.

knowledge of the inner self and of life is to be gained, and how the desire to fulfil God's purpose in humanity is to be fostered and increased. I must now enter more into detail. The model for the adult life is the life of Jesus. Froebel's aim is to produce the power, by the time manhood comes, of living such a life as far as may be. The difficulty is what to do to effect this, and how to begin. Holding that the development of the individual corresponds in large outlines to the development of the race (*Education of Man*, sect. 16), Froebel looked back to the early days of humanity to find out how religion began, and in what it consisted. He used what he found as a guide for the earliest years of the child. He did not, of course, find any catechisms and dogmas. It seemed to him that the beginnings of all true and ever progressive religion lay in the feeling of community, in love and wonder, — the religion of fear having on the whole steadily dwindled and lost ground.¹ He begins, then, with love in the family, which is to be gradually widened more and more, as I have already described. "The child's worship," he said, "is the feeling and practice of love." The book we are considering is full of this from end to end. I have also pointed out how in *Put-a-cake*, etc., Froebel delights in leading the child back step by step till he is face to face with some wonder or mystery of nature or life. Who makes the corn grow? Who taught the bird to build its nest?

¹ Wordsworth's view is very like this: —

We live by admiration, hope, and love;
And even as these are well and wisely fused,
The dignity of being we ascend.

Who causes the wind to blow? But besides these he gives us songs and games in which the child is shown, and led to delight in, some of the most striking and beautiful natural phenomena — *The Child and the Moon*, *The Little Boy and the Moon*, *The Little Girl and the Stars*; while in the songs called *The Little Window* and *The Window* a feeling of joy in, and thankfulness for, light and sunshine is drawn out and exercised. I cannot say that I approve of the songs of *The Wolf* and *The Boar*. In the introduction to them Froebel bids us, above all things, be careful to guard the purity of the child's young spirit, and on this very ground I object. The hunting and shooting — which are still less defensible in the case of *The Hare* — are little calculated to foster and induce the practice of love for living things; while I fail to see why the wolf and the boar, who simply live out the laws of their nature, are to be held up as evil. They are not, moreover, particularly degraded examples of obedience to the lower appetites; and the dangerous savage side of them is not unlikely to alienate a little child from the Creator of such enemies to man. The whole matter belongs to the question of the nature and destiny of evil, the consideration of which, even in its microscopic beginnings, does not belong to the kindergarten period. There is much in *The Bridge* which is fanciful and far-fetched, but on the whole the game and song are both satisfactory. The idea on which they are based, of producing in a child a habit of connecting things, — concretely first and then later on abstractly — is a good one, and is helpful in leading him more and more to seek for that connectedness and unity in the

world and in life, which Froebel hopes will lead him up to the conception of unity in the great Cause and Creator of all things.¹ Froebel constantly endeavors to bring this feeling and perception of connectedness, of continuity, into the child's own life, as well as making it noticeable in what surrounds him. To do this the child must ever and anon recall his own little past, connect it with the present, and, when occasion offers, reach forward from them both, though but a span's length, into the future. Froebel tells us that he intends the pictures and the songs and games (but especially the pictures) of the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* to be used with this object as the simple, everyday history of little lives.²

General morality, according to Froebel, is to be produced by awakening the *ideas* of the child from the very first, by exercising the senses as organs of the mind. In this way he seeks to counterbalance the sensual desires, and to delay as long as possible the awakening of the lower appetites. The development of the sense of beauty,—especially beauty in nature,—while the reflective powers are still sleeping in the child's soul, offers the best means, he thinks, for this.³

¹ If we view objects "in disconnection, dead and spiritless," says Wordsworth, we wage

An impious warfare with the very life
Of our own souls.

² The child is father of the man,
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety. — *Wordsworth.*

³ See *Reminiscences*, chap. viii. So Wordsworth tells us, when speaking of the "beauteous forms of nature,"—

I have owed to them,
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,

In the very earliest years, the child's eyes are to be opened to forms, colors, etc., his ear to music and song, and his weak childish powers are to be prepared and used in the formation of beautiful things—for it is by making beautiful things that we most readily become interested in them and learn to see their beauty. The beginnings of this are shown in *The Finger Piano* and *The Little Artist*, but most in the constant use throughout his book of both song and music. He looked upon the formation of beautiful objects as the best means for making the soul susceptible to the ideal on every side, and the cultivation of the creative powers as most important in overcoming coarseness and immorality, or rather in preventing their development,—and what he thought of work has been already told. In the pictures of the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, the little people are nearly always busily doing something; and those who look at the pictures are to be busy and doing too.

Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart;
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration; feelings too,
Of unremembered pleasure: such, perhaps,
As have no slight or trivial influence
On that best portion of a good man's life,
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love.

And a little further on he speaks of the "blessed mood," when

With an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

I need not quote the passage which comes later in the same poem, and tells of the impressive and elevating power of beauty in nature.

Froebel discards catechisms and dogmatic teaching for the very young; but it must not be supposed therefore that he avoids all allusion to church matters and to what is distinctively Christian. On the contrary, he prepares the child for these just as he aids him in other developments. Pictures of the child Jesus and the story of his early life are constantly brought into prominent notice, especially at Christmas time, and in connection with the Christmas tree and Christmas games; while *The Church Door and Window*, in the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* is especially designed to call his attention to the flocking together of men and women to the church for praise and prayer. The mother, with her little one, some two or three years old, on her lap, sits at the window on a Sunday morning, watching the folk gather, and enter the church opposite. She brings before him the idea of human fellowship and union—of surrender of self to something higher than self; she makes him represent with arms and hands the door and the window of the church; and she sings him a song about it all, and imitates the sound of the organ and the glad pealing of the bells. The very watching of a crowd moving quietly together for one purpose, is an education in itself, and irresistibly draws out the child's sympathy—draws him out of the narrow world of self. And love of parents and of neighbors is for the child the beginning of the love of God. As of old, by the Sea of Galilee, so now also the simple-minded are best taught by parables.

I have but to mention the games of counting on the fingers, and the list is complete. Further exposition

will come later. Here it will be best to conclude with a caution, lest any one should misconceive Froebel's position, and imagine that he supposes none but good qualities in little children. He is quite aware of the law of heredity; that there is an inheritance of evil as well as of good. He knows how easily new evil habits are acquired, and he detects as clearly as any one the symptoms of degeneration in naturally right instincts even at the earliest age. Nor is he blind to the fact that there is a marked difference in the mental and physical endowments of little children, and in their impulses, inclinations, and will. He constantly proves and insists that the best education *must* pay attention to individual characteristics, and cannot be all of one formal pattern. He seeks to produce well-developed, self-directing individuals; and this cannot be done unless the endowment and condition of each is duly considered at every stage. What teachers have to do is to distinguish carefully between whatever in the original dispositions of the young is broadly and universally human, and what is singular, accidental, anti-social; and while taking the latter properly into account as an existing fact, to seek by every means in their power to develop the former—remembering that what is exercised in due accordance with its nature will grow and increase, and that what is unexercised will surely dwindle out of use. Teachers may at least hope to add to and improve mankind's inheritance of good, and to lessen somewhat its inheritance of what is evil; and in very truth we could not have a nobler hope. Each of us, like the tiny ants, may add his little grain to the general store of good.

NOTE ON THE CHOICE OF SONGS AND GAMES

What help does the *Mutter- und Kose-lieder* give us in selecting and organizing songs and games for the kindergarten? What are the points we must look for and decide upon? Briefly they seem to me to be these. We must first examine the means we shall have to employ — pictures, words, action, idea, music, symbols. (a) *Pictures*. — Are these simple and beautiful in form, color, and expression? Do they give the children something more than mere form and colour. If so, what? Are they in any way explanatory or symbolical? And if so, are they well fitted for their purpose? (b) *Words*. — Are they simple, clear, expressive, melodious? Do they form bare dead statements, or are they suggestive of something beyond? Do they lend themselves in any way to pantomimic expression? (c) *Action*. — Does the action really help to make clear and intelligible the particular meaning and the general idea of the song or story? If so, how? Is it a good physical gymnastic for body, limb, organs, voice? Is the imagined action in the story itself one that children should imitate? (d) *Idea*. — Is the idea of the story or song a narrow or accidental or anti-social one, or is it broadly human — one that will grow more and more in meaning and application as life advances? Is it readily intelligible to children in its simple direct form, or does it involve a long explanation, or is it too sad for children? Does it tend to produce action — right action? Is it beautiful in itself? [The *idea* is the life and soul of the game and song, and the satisfying of its chief requirements is of paramount importance.] (e) *Music*. — Is it simple, beautiful, within the child's range? Does it, as Rosmini would say, afford a simple, natural expression for a child's simple, natural feelings? Does it aid and make clearer the meaning and feeling of the song, or distract attention from these to itself (as most songs nowadays do, perhaps advisedly)? (f) *Symbols*. — Are these likely to be or to become such to children? What is their immediate direct effect on children? Are they likely to grow in meaning? Do they interfere with the clear, simple meaning of the picture or of the story? Are they really symbolic, or is their symbolism too far-fetched and merely fanciful?

But even now our examination is not at an end. We employ these means on which I have just dwelt, to produce certain emotions, and to impart and lead up to certain knowledge. The emotions or sen-

iments are either ethical, *i.e.* moral, or æsthetic, or intellectual. Under each of these heads we must make up our minds as to what the effect is to be. The ethic result may be either positive or negative, *i.e.* stimulative or deterrent. For my own part, I think that the less deterrents are used during the kindergarten period the better. It is always extremely difficult—and often impossible—to be sure of *all* their effects; they are fertile in misconceptions, and are against the principle of letting sleeping faults lie as long as possible while we develop the good qualities. And lastly, as Froebel points out in the *Education of Man*, they are often the child's first introduction to what is undesirable or wrong. As to the æsthetic and intellectual sentiments, it will be sufficient for the present to point out that they must be considered, and that with great care. The kinds of knowledge we seek to produce are knowledge of things, knowledge of natural law, of life, of the child's own inner self. The one all-embracing caution is to restrict ourselves to what the children can really see and understand of themselves or when it is pointed out to them; to be simple, direct, and, above all things, true; not forcing our point; not dragging in anything prematurely, or through mere fancy; not supposing that children must be able to see a fact or a principle because it is before them, nor feeling ourselves bound to call attention to fact and principle because they are present. In any case and every case the knowledge must be such as the child can in some way put immediately to use—not such as he must keep for years before it will materially influence anything he does or thinks about. It must bear directly on development; it must prompt and be of service in exercise.

CHAPTER V

FROEBEL'S THEORY OF EDUCATION

IT is now time to give a more definite and connected statement of Froebel's theory of education. The way, it is hoped, has been sufficiently prepared for this by the expositions which have been given of the chief scientific doctrines and ideas from which his theory springs, and by the illustrations which have been added of some of the ways in which this theory may be practically applied to the education of very young children. By too formal a beginning I have found that one often defeats one's own end—in this as in other attempts to produce knowledge. To borrow an example from language-teaching, the formal grammar may come too soon. In what follows, from the very nature of the method I have adopted, there must needs be, here and there, some amount of repetition of what has been already stated; but this will not be great, and will, I trust, only serve to bring more thoroughly home to the student the importance of particular parts of the theory.¹

¹ Let me here state that in addition to Froebel's own writings on the subject there are many others to which I am under obligations here and there in this chapter. Chief amongst these I would mention: *The Child and Child-Nature*, and *Reminiscences of F. Froebel*, by the Baroness B. von Marenholtz-Bülow; a tract on *The Problem of Popular Education*, by Professor J. H. von Fichte; and a Lecture on

First, let me recall what has been said about evolution or development: how it consists, not so much in an increase of bulk or quantity, as in an increase in complexity of structure, an improvement in power, skill, and variety in the performance of natural functions; how it is produced by exercise, exercise of the thing's own self, or what is called self-activity, and how this exercise should be rightly timed, in harmony with the nature of the thing, and continuously in proportion to its strength. Both when quite a young man, and still more when in later life, he took up the study of science in good earnest, Froebel seems to have been constantly struck by the fact that in every part of organic nature, as each in succession came under his notice, life and growth appeared to be a progressive development from lower to higher grades of being; that development in the individuals of a class was regular, and followed the same general order, which order remarkably resembled that which the class as a whole had gone through, as far as its history was known; and that exercise of function produced development, while loss of exercise checked or destroyed it. Examining more closely what seemed to be the laws of development in the different classes of organisms, he was convinced of their general similarity to one another,—of their "unity," as he put it,—and that this unity of law indicated the unity of the origin or source of law. Occupying him-

Froebel and the Kindergarten System, delivered by Professor Joseph Payne at the College of Preceptors in 1874. The first and third of these, and part of the fourth, are contained in Dr. Henry Barnard's most valuable volume, *The Kindergarten and Child-Culture*.

self then more exclusively with human beings, especially very young human beings (who are most simple and natural, and least self-conscious in their revelations), he became firmly convinced that human nature, though liable to error, is in its elements as free from evil and falsity—as completely what it should be—as nature under every other aspect and in every other manifestation. He concluded, therefore, that in dealing with the young the only wise course to adopt, at any rate in the earliest years, was to seek to develop human nature's inborn original capacities and abilities by a carefully graduated and connected progress in every direction in which progress was demanded, and to take as our general guide the progress and development of the human race as a whole in the order indicated in history. The child's nature being what its Creator intended it to be, that is, in its *essence* good,—though liable to error inherited or newly induced,—what we have to do at first is merely to help its normal growth, by securing for it a proper environment, and by supplying it with, and enticing it to use, the fitting means for the activities which its nature needs for development. Nothing which does not spring directly from the natural primary outfit of the child,—which is not a natural outcome of it,—should be imported into the child in the first stage, nor indeed in any stage to which it does not naturally and rightfully belong. And, on the other hand, every prescribing, restricting, encroaching kind of instruction or education, which interferes with natural development, must necessarily, if this view be allowed, be considered to operate hurt-

fully upon the normal child-nature, and should therefore be carefully kept from it. "God does not cram in or ingraft," he says in the concluding section of the *Education of Man*; "he develops the smallest and most imperfect thing in continuously ascending stages and in accordance with eternal laws grounded in and developing from the thing's own self."

But here a caution is needed. Froebel does not propose to leave the child wholly to itself among other children, nor does he endeavor to isolate it as Rousseau advised; but he places it with other children, amid favorable surroundings, and gives it the companionship of persons whose knowledge and training fit them to guard, guide, and help it in its development. He thus protects it from inherited evil tendencies and new inducements to error, and from the danger of becoming a law unto itself, before it has learnt the laws of its own nature and of humanity. He seeks to fit it to become its own true guide, and he holds that this cannot be done by making it wholly subservient to arbitrary laws and prescriptions lying altogether outside it, and which are not its own either in meaning or effort.¹

Such is Froebel's fundamental idea, and he con-

¹ Froebel, however, fully admits (*Education of Man*, sects. 8, 9) that there are cases when, the original outfit having been seriously marred or partially paralyzed, directly mandatory education is necessary, at any rate for a time. Hailmann quotes in his translation the following from Herbert Spencer's *Education*: "A higher knowledge tends continually to limit our interference with the processes of life. As in medicine, etc., . . . so in education, we are finding that success is to be achieved only by rendering our measures subservient to that spontaneous unfolding which all minds go through in their progress to maturity," — precisely Froebel's idea.

stantly applies it in all its variations. This leads to another and a deeper thought, which he sets forth in the opening sections of the *Education of Man*, and which may be paraphrased as follows: In everything there rules and operates an eternal law, which always finds its expression with equal clearness outwardly in physical nature, and inwardly in the spirit, and also in the life (which is the result of the active union of physical nature and spirit). Beneath this all-pervading, all-powerful law lies a single omnipotent cause—God. The Spirit of God rests, lives, and works in nature, expresses itself by nature (as an artist expresses himself in a work of art), imparts itself through nature, continues to shape itself in and by nature; but nature is not the body of God (see *Education of Man*, sect. 63). The all-pervading law is like its cause, like God, *Godlike*. The condition on which the existence and the development of things depend, is their fundamental harmony with the laws of their being, *i.e.* therefore, their *Godlikeness*. In other words, the Godlike or divine principle working in everything is the essential life of that thing or what may be called its individuality. Thus, the destiny and vocation of everything is to develop and fitly exhibit the essential principle of its being, its Godlikeness; to manifest and reveal God outwardly by activity and development, in the transitory, visible world of things. The particular destiny, the particular vocation, of every perceiving and rational human being is to develop his essence, his individuality—to become himself; to grow fully conscious of, to win a vigorous and clear insight into, his divine nature, so

as to develop it in practice in his own life, of his own free will and desire; to make it effectual in every direction which his inner capacity allows.¹ To awaken a human being to a full sense of this; to treat man as a thinking, intelligent being who is becoming conscious of himself; to incite him to the pure, inviolate, conscious practice and fulfilment of the inner divine law of his being; and to provide him in unbroken continuity with the ways and means for this—this is to educate man. Education should lead man to clearness concerning himself and in himself, to peace with nature, and to union with God. It should lift him to a knowledge of himself and of mankind, to a knowledge of God and of nature, and to the pure and holy life which such knowledge indicates and conditions. All human education culminates, therefore, in religion, — which is itself enlightened, vigorous, human endeavor.

The pantheistic idealism which this way of looking at things already reveals, and which, as I have already pointed out, is common to other writers of his period and before it, is not, perhaps, very helpful to the teacher; and yet it cannot be omitted if a true idea is to be given of Froebel's theory and his manner of thinking. It matters very little whether he learnt this conception of the universe from Krause² or Schelling,

¹ Substantially Plato's view of the Cosmos and of man's relation to it.

² Froebel made Krause's personal acquaintance at Göttingen in 1828, and was by him introduced to the works of Comenius. Five years before Krause had criticised, in the *Isis*, Froebel's explanatory essays on Keilhau, which had been written in 1822 and had appeared in the same journal.

or from philosophers very much earlier than these. To recognize that he made it his own and constantly introduced it into his educational writings will be sufficient for us here. The main question with us is not how Froebel used the theory of evolution, his knowledge of natural science, and his study of life, to explain the unseen and the supernatural, but how he made them apply to the education of human beings. That the conception referred to intensified the religious character of his views—or was itself partly a result of their religious intensity—is at once apparent. No doubt it largely helped to convince him that religious-mindedness and religious-minded industry should be the flower and fruit of all education. But this and its other results will be dealt with in the next chapter when I come to speak of Froebel's ethics.

As Professor J. H. von Fichte has pointed out, one pedagogic principle of great value results at once from the theory just set forth. Wherever education really permits an unhindered, undisturbed development of the original innate capacities, there we find that the inherent diversity amongst individuals becomes at once visible,—a diversity in consequence of which each child, even in the earliest stages, is distinguishable from every other child. From this, then, it must follow that, to be in accordance with nature, education must not be of one uniform pattern, but must be suited to the capacities of each individual; for the differences in individuals are fundamental, spring from differences in original endowment and inheritance, are not merely the result of an artificial culture, and hence must be considered in an education that follows the laws of

nature. Moreover, as Froebel points out (*Education of Man*, sect. 22), a boy is a boy, not because he has reached a certain age, but because he has lived through his infancy faithfully to the requirements of his soul, mind, and body; a youth is a youth, because with the same efficient faithfulness he has lived through his infancy and boyhood; and just so a man is a man, not because he has reached the age of manhood, but only because the requirements of his infancy, his boyhood, and his youth have been faithfully fulfilled by him. And these so-called stages are in no sense separate, but together form one continuous, unbroken, harmonious development, each part of which vitally depends on all that has gone before. I have already spoken of "connectedness" as one of the main principles running through the whole of Froebel's teaching. Here we have it as the connectedness of the different stages of life and progress. I have also dealt with it in the form of the logical succession and inter-relation of the subjects of knowledge, — every subject giving meaning and value to all the others. But there is a still further kind of connectedness, that, namely, which unites the different kinds of mental activity — knowing, feeling, and willing — with one another, enabling them to blend as one harmonious *whole* and each to aid the others.¹

¹ In a letter to Frau Doris Lütkens of Hamburg, written in 1851, Froebel says that, if his plan were followed, "then would the soul (whose sphere of action is feeling) acknowledge and esteem the intellectual power, just as the intellect already recognizes the soul (feeling) as that which gives true warmth to our lives; and life (the sphere of action of the will) as a whole would make manifest the soul, which quickens existence and gives it a meaning, as well as the intellect which gives it precision and culture. Intellect, feeling, and

The former we may call the *outer*, the latter the *inner* connection. And we may go beyond even this, and insist with Froebel on the necessity of effecting and maintaining a connection between the inner and the outer. What the child already knows, and has thus made inner, must be connected with what he is learning which is still outer; and his inner desire for activity, his ideas, feelings, and will, must be connected with what outwardly he does and makes—which Froebel calls “making the inner outer,” or *creativity*.

But we must return to the main theory. From his very first breath the child comes under the influence of three powers: nature, animate and inanimate; humanity; and the power which pervades and directs these, rising to its highest temporal manifestation in the latter,—the power we call God. The child’s body connects him with organic and inorganic, animate and inanimate, nature; his heart and mind connect him with and make him a part of the great whole—humanity, past, present, and future; and his whole being and soul depend on and are energized by God. If this be so, the child, he thinks, should grow up under the influences of nature. There he should gradually, and as far as may be in unbroken continuity, learn that laws underlie all organic formation, and that conformity with those laws is the fundamental, unvarying con-

will would then unite, a many-sided power, to build up and rightly constitute our life; . . . we should then have the harmonious development of every side of our nature alike, and should be able to build up a life which should be everywhere in touch with God, with physical nature, and with humanity at large.”

dition of all true progress towards perfection; should catch glimpses of laws applying to himself; should come to see or surmise, gradually and of course only very slowly, that all these laws in nature and in himself are in reality but various modes and manifestations of one law, and thus link together, or "reconcile," by a wider conception, what seems separate or opposed; should, through the loving care he bestows on animals and plants, enlarge his heart and sympathies, and prepare himself for the loving care he is to bestow on human beings; should, by studying and imitating the conformity of God's works, find and love God as the creator of nature, and as his own creator; and should breathe in the peace which rules in nature and in occupations connected with nature, before the noise of the world and sin enter his being.

The means which nature employs for the development of a child's body is physical movement. Therefore let the limbs be carefully and wisely exercised — which can only be properly done by one who knows something of their structure and mode of action. The child's most useful physical instrument is the hand. Therefore let the hand and the sense of touch be carefully exercised. One of the most striking instincts of childhood is construction; at first simply imitative, and then imaginative and original. Let this, therefore, be encouraged and cultivated. The eye — with its delight in color first, followed much later by delight in form — comes next, and should be amply exercised. Then comes the ear, with its delight in sounds; and this, therefore, should be helped in its development by song and music. The occupation which Froebel

thought should be most diligently fostered is the care of animals and plants, as has just been pointed out. By it the child gains his first glimpses of the wonders and beauties of nature far better than by mere gazing, and learns to love labor and to use labor for the pleasure and good of others. Ere very long we shall notice in the child a dawning curiosity to know. This, therefore, like all other natural demands, should be attended to and the spirit of inquiry encouraged. We must be sure, however, that it is a *natural*, spontaneous demand on the child's part, and not the artificial creation of our own nervous, fidgety anxiety to hurry the child out of infancy and into the period of information and set lessons in books. We learn to know by comparing, by noticing the broad likenesses and the individual differences of things; and every means for exciting, attracting, fostering the child's attention to these likenesses and differences should in due season and in due measure be placed in his way and the child guided in his exercise. In short, Froebel aims at so fostering, controlling, and directing the natural and spontaneous activity of the child according to its own inherent law that the purpose of nature—the complete development of all the natural powers—shall be effectually fulfilled.

So much for the present as to the child's relations to nature. To lead him on from nature to humanity, his inborn social impulses, which show themselves in the very earliest period, should be drawn out and kept livingly active by every possible means. It is in this connection that one of the most valuable and most striking parts of Froebel's system first comes before us.

In his study of child-nature one of the most marked characteristics which attracted and riveted his attention was the child's inborn desire for activity, which manifests itself in what we are wont to call "play." He saw and most thoughtfully pondered over the fact that any number of children left to themselves invariably fall to games of some kind, in which they evince unmistakable delight. Nature seemed to say to him plainly, almost audibly: "I educate children by *play*. If you wish to educate children as I do, encourage and organize their play." This was his special inspiration; and his organization of the play of children in the kindergarten was a stroke of genius. "It is through play," says Professor Joseph Payne, "that he (the child) learns the use of his limbs, of all his bodily organs, and with this use gains health and strength. Through play he comes to know the external world, the physical qualities of the objects which surround him, their motions, action, and reaction upon each other, and the relation of these phenomena to himself,—a knowledge which forms the basis of that which will be his permanent stock for life. Through play, involving associateship and combined action, he begins to recognize moral relations, to feel that he cannot live for himself alone, that he is a member of a community whose rights he must acknowledge if his own are to be acknowledged. In and through play, moreover, he learns to contrive means for securing his ends; to invent, construct, discover, investigate; to bring by imagination the remote near; and, further, to translate the language of facts into the language of words, to learn the conventionalities of his mother-

tongue." Froebel saw all this, and that, by exercising a wise and thoughtful choice of games, he could, without in any way spoiling the spontaneous delight of play, make games the means by which his educational ideas might be put into practice in their earliest and most elementary forms.¹ Games of movement for the limbs, games for the hand, games of childish song, of construction, of comparison,—all these might well be collected or invented. These he did collect and invent and organize with admirable skill and success. The implements for the exercise and development of intellectual power and knowledge are called "Froebel's gifts"; the processes for producing skill in the use of knowledge are the "occupations." The employment of games, songs, gifts, and occupations in the education of little children is *the kindergarten system*. With regard to the games and songs, it is unfortunately still necessary to insist that a *choice* has to be made; and that, when chosen, the games and songs have to be *organized*—adapted to the kindergarten purpose. This purpose, this premeditated aim, is of course not displayed to the children—it should not even be noticeable by them as a special purpose of the teacher; but, unless it does exist livingly conscious and present in the mind of the teacher, the game or song will not be a kindergarten exercise, but a mere pastime. One game only did not require the assistance of his invention. This was "gardening," which nature had already made the

¹ Hailmann quotes from Plato: "If children are trained to submit to laws in their plays, the love for law enters their souls with the music accompanying the games, never leaves them, and helps in their development."

most delightful of games. All that he had to do here was to urge that children should be encouraged and led to make use of the results of their infant efforts, in this and in every other department, in giving pleasure and help to others. This would draw them to their fellows, would link them to humanity; and from love of their fellows would be developed the love of God. Work which was at the same time the fulfilment of duty he saw (as Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow points out) was the only true basis of moral culture: but it was necessary that such work should not only delight the worker, but should also satisfy his instinct of love; it should therefore have an object; and that object should be to give pleasure and help to others. To make the beginning of all this still more easy the care of pet animals was added.

In the next chapter I shall deal more at large with the relations of the child to its fellows and to God. But here I cannot refrain from giving the substance of the Baroness's charming description of an almost ideal kindergarten at work—or rather at play; reminding the student, before I do so, that Froebel seeks to give the child experience rather than instruction, and to educate him by action rather than by books, or anything in the nature of abstract learning.

The pleasant sound of children's voices singing falls on the ear of the visitor as he enters the kindergarten; and in an open-air space shaded with trees (or in winter in a large, pleasantly warmed room) he sees a ring of little children from three to five or six years of age, led by the kindergarten teacher, and moving in rhythmic measures round one of their little

comrades who is going through an energetic course of gesticulations and movements, which the others imitate while they sing. The movements may represent the incidents of husbandry and harvesting, or the way in which birds build their nests, and fly out and home again, or scenes in the market or the shop. The actions are suited to the words and the words to the actions, and mutually explain one another. Physical and mental exercises go on together. The movements exercise the limbs and muscles, the music helps to call into activity the feelings and the imagination, the words and the actions rouse the mind to observation, and the will is called into play by the desire and the effort to imitate. A little farther on in the garden under an awning will be seen tables, at each of which are seated some ten children,—some, perhaps, as old as eight — working away busily. At one table strips of colored paper, straw, or leather are being plaited into all sorts of pretty patterns to make letter-cases, mats, etc. The patterns of the elder children are their own invention, and their little productions are destined to be presents to father and mother, brothers and sisters, and friends. At the next table building with cubes, or bricks, has been going on. Before each child stands a structure of his own planning, and all are listening attentively to the story the teacher is telling, in which each of the objects built is made to play a part. Or the children may have been counting, and comparing the sizes and shapes of the bricks. At a third table paper is being folded into all sorts of shapes, representing tools of different kinds, boxes, boats, and even flowers. Most of the forms

which the children produce are arrived at by gradual transitions from some fundamental mathematical form, and thus first notions of the elements of geometry are acquired, not through abstract teaching, but by observation and original construction. But the half-hour is at an end, and there must be no more sitting still. Spades, rakes, and watering-pots are now brought out for work in the flower-beds (or, when indoors, in flower-boxes or pots), of which each child has one of its own. Vegetables, and sometimes fruit, as well as flowers, are cultivated by the little people in these small patches of ground; but in the general garden, which is in the common charge of all the children, are grown corn, field products, and the like. In this garden, too, many kinds of animals are kept, — rabbits, goats, dogs, chickens, pigeons, — which have all to be looked after and cared for. The little ones whom we first saw engaged in their childish gymnastics now come running up to the table deserted by the elder children, and in their turn take their seats, and begin laying together and interlacing little laths or sticks in symmetrical shapes — forms of beauty, forms of knowledge or mathematical figures, forms of practical life, or buildings, tools and the like. — a sort of drawing with concrete lines. The results of many of the occupations are to be stored up in the glass cupboard in the playroom. They are not all for birthday or Christmas presents. A great many of them are to go into a common fund by means of which a Christmas tree is to be dressed, and the poor children of the neighborhood are to come and join in the general rejoicing — they are, indeed, to be the special guests.

And now the working-hours are ended, and a song, in which all join, sounds through the kindergarten. The little ones with their teachers form a circle and sing, with childish reverence, words expressing gratitude to God and desire to please him and their parents. The kindergarten always opens and closes in this way. Three, or perhaps four, hours have thus passed quickly away for the little people, and now they hurry off to join the mothers or sisters or nurses who have come to fetch them, eager to tell of all the pleasures and work of the morning, and to carry on by themselves at home the arts they have been learning.

That all of this cannot be done in the family, after Pestalozzi's plan, must be quite evident. Part of it may be, but not all. Mothers for the most part have not the time, nor the apparatus, nor have they what is still more important,—the trained skill necessary for conducting this playful work or workful play properly. They may commence it; and they may in some measure continue it at home; but they cannot do it entirely. If for no other reason, then for this — that the social impulse, the love of others beyond the narrow range of self and of one's own home, cannot be properly excited and developed except where numbers, and these from different homes, are gathered together. But in order to commence and continue the plan properly, in order to be always working in harmony with it,—that is, in harmony with the children's natures,—mothers must study child-nature and the growth of child-mind much more carefully than they do. For the mother is always

or should be, the most important factor in the life of the child. Froebel does not seek to change this, but only to add to it and to make it more effective. He is never tired of appealing to mothers to fit themselves for the holy duties of motherhood; and indeed it is directly to mothers that the greater part of what he writes is addressed. The kindergarten takes away the children for only a few hours in the morning, and still keeps them under the guidance and skilled care of women. The temporary absence should only add to the charm of home by the delightful excitement of returning, and so be itself a Froebelian means for helping the child to realize its love for home and mother.

CHAPTER VI

FROEBEL'S VIEWS ON CHARACTER, CONDUCT, AND RELIGION

In a memorable interview between Diesterweg and Froebel, described in her *Reminiscences*, the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow reports the latter, amongst other things, to have said, "The firmament leads us to recognize the connectedness of all that exists, and leads us up to unity — God." The night was clear, bright, and starry, as they drove home from Inselsberg to Liebenstein, and the beauty of the heavens had set them talking. "No one of the heavenly bodies is isolated; every planet has its centre in the sun of its system. All the solar systems are in relation and continual interaction with one another. This is the condition of all life — everywhere mutual relation of parts. As there above, in great things, unbroken connection and harmony rule, so also here below, even in the smallest thing; everywhere there are the same order and harmony, because the same law rules everywhere, the one law of God, which expresses itself in thousand-fold many-sidedness, but in the last analysis is one, for God is himself the law." "That is what people call pantheism," remarked Diesterweg. "And very unjustly," rejoined Froebel; "I do not say, like the pantheists, that the world is God's body, that

God dwells in it, as in a house, but that the spirit of God dwells and lives in nature, produces, fosters, and unfolds everything, as *the common life principle*. As the spirit of the artist is found again in his masterpieces, so must we find God's spirit (*Geist*) in his works." To the hasty inquirer the difference would not, perhaps, be readily apparent — especially on occasions when Froebel allowed his mystical tendencies to intrude themselves; and so more than one adversary called him pantheist and anti-christian. Pantheist he undoubtedly is, or ideal-pantheist, as I have called him; but in no sense is he anti-christian. The question has already been touched upon in a preceding chapter; and it has been pointed out that it is not a matter of essential importance to us, though certainly a matter of interest, what ultimate interpretation of the universe Froebel derived from his long and careful study of physical phenomena, and of the active manifestations of life and growth. It is quite justifiable and consistent to accompany Froebel as long as he deals with matters of physical science and psychology, but to refuse to follow him beyond these, into the region of metaphysics — just as we may with great advantage follow Herbart as long as he is dealing directly with the results of his own observation and practice as a teacher, but may decline to accept in its entirety his system of psychology, which was only in part derived from those results. Up to the confines of metaphysics Froebel is sound enough. It is, however, necessary to re-introduce here, though but briefly, his particular view as to the ultimate meaning of the universe, because he himself mingles

it so frequently with his ethical teaching; and it would seem only fair to give him the opportunity of stating his case clearly. Besides, I am not prepared to state that his metaphysical views are in my opinion wholly wrong, though I cannot accept all of them. The particular views referred to are presented in many parts of *The Education of Man*; and almost the whole of one section (sect. 63) is devoted to the exposition of them. He is speaking of what mankind can learn of the nature of God from the "book of creation," apart from any direct revelation,—in which revelation he constantly shows his belief,—and, using once more the simile of the artist, says: "As no material part of the human spirit, of the artist, is in the work of art, and yet the work of art bears within it the whole spirit of its artist, so that he lives in it, expresses himself by it; and as the work breathes forth again his spirit even to others, is awakened, developed, improved, and formed by his spirit; as thus the man's spirit is related to the work produced by him, as the man (as a spirit) is related to that which he has produced, so is the spirit of God related to nature, and to all created things. The spirit of God rests, lives, and works in nature, expresses itself by nature, imparts itself through nature, continues to shape itself (to give itself visible form) in and by nature; but nature is not the body of God." The whole section is of great value for a clear understanding of this view, but is too long for quotation. It may be added, however, that, both from what he here says and from the rest of his writings, it is quite evident that Froebel does not pretend to give

a *complete* account of the Deity, but only of what a limited human being can learn *from the universe* of the Deity in his character of Creator of man and of the world man lives in.

From early boyhood Froebel had delighted in the sights and sounds of nature. In especial, he himself tells us, the world of plants and flowers had been the object of his observation and reflection. Even then, and still more when he became a fervent student of physical science, he was constantly struck by the regularity of nature, by the existence of underlying law — as has been already described; and with the perception of this he came to feel in the law “a presence which disturbed him with the joy of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime of *something*, far more deeply interfused” than the mind could directly observe through the senses. This law and this presence engrossed his attention more and more. He sought them everywhere. He had come upon their traces in nature; and it was to nature that he turned to learn more of them. He listened to her many voices, considered her ways, and learnt her doings. Nature became for him the book of God designed for our learning. Thus it happens that in Froebel’s mind science is never, even apparently, antagonistic to religion. In fact it becomes a part — a vital part — of religion itself. Knowledge of the law of life, of all that bears on life, becomes in his view a matter of the greatest necessity. A man’s highest duty is to *live out* that law here on earth by unceasing outward and upward activity; to develop and promote the realization of God’s idea in humanity. “But this is anti-chris-

tian," exclaimed some of his opponents. "By no means," answered Froebel; "it is the teaching of Jesus himself, whose meat it was to do the will of him that sent him; who was ever about his Father's business. He it was who taught us to call upon his Father as our Father, and to pray that God's kingdom may come, and his will be done here on earth, even as it is in heaven. And you will find that Holy Writ in no way contradicts me." The kingdom of God upon earth is the complete development of humanity and of all created things. This development has not yet been reached. It is not a stationary, completed thing, which has only to be repeated in greater universality; but a growth yet to be produced, and only to be produced by the living way of individual, free, active development and cultivation. This insistence on the necessity of development brought another set of adversaries into the field, who accuse Froebel of despising knowledge, and thinking only of training. These I will refer for their answer to what has already been said and to what I shall say in the next chapter. And meanwhile I will ask my readers to recall what Bacon says in his *Advancement of Learning* (especially in bk. i, v. 11), merely pointing out that Froebel did, indeed, look upon knowledge as "a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." He did not value it for its own sake, but only as it bore on complete living. In that respect no one has valued it more highly than he.

But it is time to have done with objectors, and to turn to the consideration of the ethical bearing on the child, the boy, the man, and society in general,

of Froebel's theory; for so far, I have only hinted at it.

The infant child lies at first involved in a chaos of sensations, and of feelings of comfort and discomfort, acceptableness and offensiveness. Within these there is somewhere the germ of a soul or spirit. How does he rise out of the confusion, separate himself from it, and become conscious of himself—"give birth to himself as I," as Fichte would say? Somehow, by his own nature, and own inner power—helped or hindered by the impressions of outer things. Something, therefore, may be done to help or hinder the youngest infant—something through the senses and feelings, and first infant activities, in aid of discrimination. Froebel begins at this earliest period. Nor does he find it too soon for a germ of ethics. While aiding the child to make clear to himself his elementary sensations and feelings, he would, as he said in a conversation with Varnhagen (*Reminiscences*, p. 210), "awaken the senses as the organs of the mind, and not as the organs of mere sensuous pleasure, or of mere desires, as in animals." There should be no pampering in food or dress, not too much aimless cossetting; but, while enticing the child to use his perceptive faculties by drawing his attention to simple, single, striking objects, "we should endeavor from the very beginning to create such impressions upon the child's mind, through material or concrete things, as, according to the analogy between thought and its embodiment, are the prototypes of ideas and conceptions." As to how he would do this for the infant, Froebel has been explicit enough in his ball games, and the

games and songs of his *Mutter- und Kose-lieder*, by which he seeks not only to exercise the infant perceptions, and the little limbs and muscles, but also, as has been pointed out, to utilize the loving union between mother and child, so as to draw them both into intelligent and delightful relations with the objects and simple life around them. "Everything," he says (*Education of Man*, sect. 35), "which enters the child's small range of vision, which widens his as yet narrow world, is dear to him. The smallest thing is to him a new discovery. But it must not come dead into the little world; it must not remain dead in it; else the small range of vision will be darkened, the young world crushed." In a previous section (sect. 33) Froebel shows admirably how a mother may call out a child's consciousness of self by infant play with his little limbs and body, beginning with what he can see (hands, feet, etc.), and going to what he cannot see (ears, eyes, etc.), and from the parts themselves to their activities — and how this play may be linked with speech. The advent of speech marks the beginning of another period — that of boyhood or girlhood.

It is during this period of boyhood or girlhood that the child more distinctly comes to feel those various influences which Froebel groups under the heads of nature, mankind, and God. From intercourse with nature, the child, it will be remembered, is to gain an anticipatory knowledge of God; and through the care he bestows on plants and animals is to be drawn into closer touch with human beings, and to prepare himself for the loving care he is soon to bestow on them; while from love of his fellows is to be developed the

love of God. Of course Froebel does not suppose that all that he counsels us to do under these heads can be done in boyhood,—it may not even be accomplished in manhood,—but he thinks it should be the guiding principle and aim of every educator at all times. The end will not be reached by book-learning, listening, or passive contemplation, but only by action; for it is only by action that man learns to understand himself and others; only by studying the effects that he gains a knowledge of the cause. Gardening is one of the occupations Froebel would have us most carefully foster. By it the child gains his first glimpses of the wonders and beauties of nature; in it he watches the working of an unseen power; through it he learns to love labor, to use labor for the pleasure and good of others, and gains for himself a first touch of a sense of duty and responsibility. A child's activities should never, if possible, be left vague and purposeless. Just as the senses are to be organs of the mind, so the activities are to be expressions of the mind—of the mind of the actor, the child. In gardening, therefore, and in every other occupation, children should be encouraged and led by every possible means to make use of the results of their infant efforts, by giving pleasure and help to others. Work, which is also the fulfilment of duty, Froebel saw to be the only true basis of moral culture. In other words, if we infuse into work a sense of obligation to the community, to one's friends, or even only to one's better self, we readily make it a means of spiritual development,—a conception most important in its bearing on the healthiness and hopefulness of every-

day, social life. In fact, Froebel demands that physical and spiritual development shall be united from the first, and shall begin in the earliest childhood, and thus continues and completes what Richter, in his *Levana*, had already more than once hinted at. If, besides individual work, children are given work — such as gardening — to do *in common*, a sense of *mutual* responsibility and fellowship in duty will still further be exercised. It is evident how valuable in this connection will be the child's being allowed to take part in domestic household work. To help father, mother, or nurse is always a privilege as well as a pleasure; and the aim and utility of the work are both always clearly manifest. There is no more beautiful sight in this world of ours than a little child working for love and honor's sake. But by far the most important of the spontaneous activities of the young is that of *play*. It is the freest active manifestation of the child's inner self, and springs from the need of that inner living consciousness to realize itself outwardly. The child literally *lives* in his play, and sees himself living in his playmates, just as he sees himself acting and doing in the stories he loves so well. All that we can do here is to seek to prevent the activity from becoming vague, erratic, meaningless.¹ It should be the expression of some idea in the child; and, undoubtedly, those ideas will be best which lead him into intelligent, loving harmony with his fellows and

¹ Children often half-consciously confess this by asking some sympathetic adult to join in their play. Many a time has a little fellow said to me, "Oh, do come and play with us, and then the game is sure to be jolly." The self-directing powers, in games as in all else, are slow in growth.

with nature, and which keep him in touch with his own life all through. It should be as little as possible merely imitative; as much as possible creative, *i.e.* the child's own endeavor to realize the idea which he possesses. In any case, the idea and the action should never be divorced. After what has already been said as to Froebel's view of development, there will be no need to insist further on the absolute necessity of *creativity* in every department of a child's education, according to his method. As soon as this is left out the plan ceases to be Froebel's. We need not, therefore, touch upon the other activities and occupations. The same spirit and purpose runs through them all,—the desire to develop the child's own innate powers, and to give him clear perceptions of truth, and of his relations to nature, humanity, and God; and to keep life and all that surrounds him full of beauty, suggestiveness, and peace.

“It is not enough,” says Froebel in a letter to his cousin Frau Schmidt, written in 1840—“it is not enough for man as an intelligent being merely that good shall result from his actions; his dignity, his station as the child of God, is only then duly shown forth when he has gained a clear, intelligent consciousness of what he does,” and its results on himself and his fellows. “Religion,” he says (*Education of Man*, sect. 60), “is the effort to raise to clear consciousness the anticipation that the individual spiritual self, which man perceives (the spirit of man) was originally one with God, and is to be in union with God,—a union founded on this consciousness,—and to continue to live in this union with God in every position and

every relation of life, untroubled and unweakened. Religion is not a fixture, but a constantly advancing effort, and just on that account has a constant existence."¹ Religious instruction consists in making this clear to the individual ; in leading him to perceive and understand the laws of his being as an animal, as a man, as part of humanity, as a child of God ; and in accustoming him to look for these laws in the natural world around him, in himself, in the life of humanity and the history of its development, and in the sacred books which have applied these laws to life, and especially to the individual life of each person. "Even in boyhood there may be most unequivocal proofs and convictions that God, to speak humanly (as we can in general speak in no other way of the Divine, or at least in no other comprehensible, effective way), still uninterruptedly guides humanity in and towards its development, improvement, and outer manifestation, by his fatherly guardianship and care, and constantly also accompanies each individual—each as an essential part of the whole—in all the occurrences of his life with fatherly loving protection and help." Elsewhere he says: "Religion without work runs the risk of becoming empty dreaming, passing enthusiasm, and an evanescent phantom, as work without religion makes man a beast of burden or a machine." In this, as in every other department, development is produced by exercise, by *doing*, by *creating*. Morality is produced by moral practices.

¹ What Froebel means by "union with God" has already been made sufficiently clear. It is actively *living out* the idea and purpose of God consciously, and of one's own free will and desire.

Froebel holds that the first germ of religious feeling lies in the feeling of community and that this feeling first comes into active consciousness in the family life. The family life, therefore, is the basis and medium of religious development; as is also the school life if based and modelled on that of the family. Moral practices, "the expressions of the kind heart, and the thoughtful, pure mind," are what he urges both for home and school; linking these on to what has been said above of the child's perception and feeling of God's fatherhood, and taking the life of Jesus as the model life. "The boy's life," he says, "should be an expression in *action* and *production* of the prayer of Jesus." Here, as everywhere else, he objects to dogmatic teaching. "If a man is to understand many truths, especially religious truths, he must be made to experience much, *i.e.* to become conscious of the events (perhaps small in themselves) of his own religious life," — his own first, and then that of others. He must rise *gradually* to a knowledge of the truths of Christianity. He objects also to the inculcating, in early life, of all such precepts as "If you are good you will be happy." The child can only take them as referring mainly or wholly to the *outer* life; and of that life they are not true. Indeed, Froebel protests strongly against holding out bribes to virtue, either for this world or the next. Outward incentives are degrading to humanity. What we should do, as far as possible, is "to make the boy observe and realize the reflex action of his conduct, not on his outer more or less agreeable position, but on his inner spontaneous or fettered, clear or clouded,

satisfied or dissatisfied, condition of spirit and mind," and this only gradually and by the way of experience. The child has to have some intuition of and insight into his destiny, and how it is to be accomplished, before he can understand such a consequence as arising from such a cause. Froebel does not desire to produce a being learned and fixed in religious dogma, but to realize in the individual God's idea in humanity. The chief instrument he would use, especially in earlier life, is love, which conquers self-seeking,—love in action, in the family, in the school, in the community; and from love of his fellows whom he has seen should be developed the love of God, whom he has not seen with his outer eye, but is learning to see with his inner mind and heart. "All work, all exercises which awaken the active powers," writes Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, "which form the capacity for rendering loving services to fellow-creatures, will help to lay the groundwork of religion in the child. The awakening of love goes before that of faith; he who does not love cannot believe, for it is love that discovers to us the object or the being worthy of our faith. Loving self-surrender to what is higher than ourselves, to the highest of all, is the beginning of faith. But love must show itself in deeds, and this will be impossible unless there be the ability to do. A child can no more be educated to a life of religion and faith without the exercise of personal activity than heroic deeds can be accomplished by words only."

General morality, as we have seen, is held by Froebel to depend largely on having the ideal side of the

human being awakened and gratified from the very beginning of life, in order to afford a counterpoise to sensual desires, and to delay or prevent as far as possible the awakening of the lower appetites. The development of the sense of beauty, while the reflective powers are still slumbering in the child's soul, offers the best means for this. Therefore, from the earliest infancy onward, the eyes of the child are to be opened to forms, colors, etc., and its ear to music; and the weak, childish powers are to be prepared and used in the formation and creation of beautiful objects. Here again *creativity* is to render the soul susceptible to the ideal. While, moreover, the principles which underlie the formation of beauty will, in this way, be brought home to the worker, and will be another experience in the beneficent results of law and harmony; for beauty is the perfection of a thing after its kind.¹

Froebel would not have the child *suspected* of evil. In this way, by suspicion, the child is robbed of his innocence, and is rendered powerless to act; and it is only by action that he can develop the good.² He by no means ignores the presence of evil, both inherited and newly acquired; but he would overcome it by (so to speak) *starving* it and developing what is good. To do this we must not be in a hurry to pronounce actions as evil, but must look into their springs and

¹ See *Reminiscences*, chap. viii.

² The child thus reduced to inaction—often mistaken for goodness—he compares to the butterfly or beetle, which, from much handling, is feeble, “and indeed also footless,” and which the little boy pronounces to be “quite tame now.”—*Education of Man*, sect. 53.

motives. Often enough a good meaning and endeavor lie behind what is evil in appearance, or evil in reality, but due to ignorance and misdirected exuberance of young life and growing powers, the exercise of which is instinctive and delightful. If evil is not wholly extirpated in this way, its proportion is, at any rate, constantly lessened, and its power continually reduced; while the power of will is not paralyzed, but only diverted in its action. Punishment is not abolished, but the necessity for it almost disappears, and the spirit of it is entirely changed. No longer does virtue need to be avenged, or wicked nature to be rebuked and put down. It is rather ignorance that needs enlightenment, weakness that needs strengthening, strength that needs a right direction, contamination that must not be allowed to spread. And if the outer life suffers constraint and penalty, the inner life is not left unappealed to or uncounseled.

“The development and cultivation of man to attain his destiny, to fulfil his vocation, is a perpetual, uninterruptedly continuous, unseparated whole, always rising from one stage to another.” “By his own observation, and his own discovering, by his own notice of the living coherence of nature, by direct view of nature itself (not by explanations in words and ideas, for which the boy has no intuition), there will dawn upon him early—and however dimly at the beginning, yet more and more distinctly—the great thought of the inner, continual, living connection of all things and phenomena in nature.” “No new subject of instruction should come to the scholar of which he does not at least conjecture that it is grounded in the pre-

ceeding subject, and how it is so grounded (as shown by its application), and concerning which he does not, however dimly, feel it to be a need of the human spirit." A man, it will be remembered, is a man, not because he has reached the age of manhood, but only because the requirements of his infancy, his boyhood, and his youth, have all been faithfully fulfilled by him. These stages are in no sense separate, but together form one continuous, unbroken, harmonious development, every part of which vitally depends on all that has gone before it. However sad it may be, no after-effort can ever wholly remove the consequences of earlier neglect. Here and there something may be retrieved; but, in general, things can never be the same as if there had been no neglect. The activity that should have been called out would have produced *some* result, and that result, at least, must be lost. Such are the more important thoughts which constantly run in and out amongst Froebel's ethical theories. They form, indeed, the skeleton which unites and supports the whole body of these theories. And further—in a very special sense they constitute the ethics of his practice of teaching.

We might carry our inquiry further, and consider the application of Froebel's views to the training of youth as well as boyhood. But, if what has already been said is sufficiently clear and connected, the repetition of principles and methods would be too little varied to avoid tediousness.

CHAPTER VII

THE KINDERGARTEN — THE GENERAL NATURE OF ITS PROCESSES — GIFTS AND OCCUPATIONS

In a letter to Miss Howe, written from Keilhau in 1847, and giving her an account of his system and of his training-college plans, Froebel says: "But such a course (as that just described) of training and occupations for children, answering to the laws of development and the laws of life, demanded a thoroughly expressive medium, in the shape of materials for these occupations and games for the child; therefore, to meet this want I designed a series of play materials, under the title of 'A Complete Series of Gifts for Play.'" It will now be my endeavor to explain more precisely the meaning of kindergarten methods, and in particular to describe these gifts and occupations, and the general nature of their employment in the education of the young.

A few introductory remarks will make everything clearer. In whatever way the aims of education, as set forth by various writers, may differ as to phraseology, they will be found, on careful examination, to be reducible practically to three: the acquirement of knowledge, the development of mental and physical power, and the production of skill, or effectiveness, in doing, especially in the application of knowledge to

practice. The close interdependence of these three is one of the fundamental principles of the kindergarten; so much so that, with Herbert Spencer, we may sum them up under one head, and define education as preparation for complete living. In order to effect the threefold aim of knowledge, power, and skill, we employ certain processes. These processes are no doubt numerous and varied; but, when they have been analyzed and duly considered, they will be found to readily group themselves under the heads of *taking in*, *assimilating*, and *giving out*, or *expressing*. And here again the kindergarten holds strongly that the effectiveness of each of these kinds of activity depends mainly on its intimate connection with the other two, and in particular that the *assimilating* will be more or less perfect, precisely as the activities of *taking in* and *giving out* are properly brought into play or not, and are or are not *self-activities* of the mind, in the sense already explained. Most of us are fairly well agreed as to what is meant by power and by skill, but the meaning of knowledge is not always kept quite clear. It is frequently confused with information. According to Froebel, and, indeed, to most psychologists, knowledge is information taken in and *assimilated* — placed in its right relations, that is, to what the taker-in has already thoroughly made his own. Information becomes knowledge when we have thoroughly mastered its meaning, when we have realized its bearing on other facts and things, when we understand it in such a way as to be able to put it to its simple, natural uses. In order to understand a fact or a thing, we note its likenesses and unlikenesses to other facts

and things, — its relations to them, — and so class it with its likes and distinguish it from its unlikes. It is in connection with the noting of differences — so as to bring out the individual characteristics of a thing most clearly — that Froebel introduces what has been called his “doctrine of contrasts.” He places hardness with softness, darkness with light, rest with motion, and so on; and holds that by their contrasts each is rendered more noticeable and more intelligible. This helps analysis and the recognition of individuality. It separates things from the confused general mass. But this process has to be followed by another, — the bringing of things together again in intelligible relations, or what we call synthesis. As Sir William Hamilton puts it: “The first procedure of the mind in the elaboration of its knowledge is always *analytical*. It descends from the whole to the parts, from the vague to the definite. . . . But though *analysis* be the fundamental procedure, it is still only a means towards an end. We *analyze* only that we may comprehend; and we comprehend only inasmuch as we are able to reconstruct in thought the complex effects which we have analyzed into their elements. This mental reconstruction is, therefore, the final, the consummative procedure of philosophy. This is familiarly known by the Greek word *synthesis*.” This describes the mind’s movement as a whole. But on the way from un-unified facts to completely unified philosophy there is a perpetual alternation of analysis and synthesis, by means of which the general ideas produced by the latter become wider and wider, and more and more abstract. All this Froebel, like Rosmini, keeps

steadily in view. He begins with the most striking contrasts, and, gradually, as the mind's observing powers grow, by his choice of cases, he reduces the amount or degree of difference to be observed. And always, beneath the difference, he endeavors to bring out the underlying likeness or unity; or, to use his own phrase, he endeavors "to reconcile the opposites." "The most delightful and fruitful of all the intellectual energies," as he says in the *Education of Man*, "is the perception of similarity and agreement, by which we rise from the individual to the general, trace sameness in diversity, and master, instead of being mastered by, the multiplicity of nature." For the purpose of helping the detection of similarity, he introduces what he calls "the reconciling mean"; something intermediate, that is, and partaking of the qualities of both the "opposites." So various shades of purple will "reconcile" red and blue; various intermediate degrees of temperature will bring out the connection between boiling-point and freezing-point; and so on. And here again the degrees of difficulty will be carefully graded, beginning with cases where the underlying likeness is readily made evident, and advancing to cases only to be dealt with by the trained observer.

The history of the growth of human knowledge is, in the main, the history of growth in the comprehension of the relations between things, or between facts — based on careful observation and experiment. And this, too, is the history of the growth of knowledge in each one of us, however much we may be unconscious of, or may strive to interfere with, the process. To make a new subject or thing intelligible and interest-

ing to our pupils, we teachers must make clear and establish and maintain its relations to other subjects or things already known. To make their understandings *grow* we must make these relations clearer and clearer, and we must widen and deepen and add to their number,—not only by adding new facts and things, but also, and perhaps more, by bringing out *new connections*, which were not at first easy to notice and understand. Interest is one of the most powerful factors in attention ; and attention is itself one of the most powerful factors in understanding. Interest lies in connection, not isolation. A thing or a fact, for its own sake, is seldom interesting for very long. It is in the multitude of its connections and suggestions that lasting interest lies. What interests a child must be immediate and level to his thoughts. He cannot realize a far-off advantage ; or, at any rate, he cannot feel it for long. Young and old, we all experience delight in discovering, or in being helped to see, connections between isolated facts,—especially such as we have ourselves picked up ; and how proud we are when we can make use of any bit of knowledge or information we have acquired, even if it be only in the least useful of ways ! Children are always eager to make use of what they know, and to catch glimpses of its bearing on what they and others do. Knowledge becomes valuable in their eyes just in proportion as it helps them to do something there and then. Doing and feeling are intimately connected ; and this doing, called into activity by interest, will itself excite into activity other feelings, and will enlist the services of the will,—that power of the mind which

determines, sustains, and directs actions. But the effort to express or use knowledge is of even greater service than this. Knowledge being what I have described it, the effort to express or use knowledge (not mere information) exercises the mind, calls the whole of it connectedly into play, and so develops mental power. It also exhibits to us, in a very clear and objective manner, the true nature and extent of our knowing, and causes renewed observation of that which is to be expressed, and of the means used to express it.¹ We never realize how little or how much we know of a thing till we try to apply that little or that much to practice. Doing, or, rather, *expressive* doing, reveals to the teacher also the nature of his pupil's knowledge; exhibits to the pupil new connections, and suggests others still; develops skill or effectiveness in doing, as mere exercise of information seldom does, or does but feebly; and trains the muscles, the nerves, and the organs of sense to be willing, obedient, effective servants of the mind. Lastly, it nourishes and clarifies feeling, by giving it definite exercise under the control of the will; and this is by no means the

¹ Writing to his cousin, Frau Schmidt, in 1841, Froebel says: "The representation of facts and circumstances of history, of geography, and especially of every-day life, by means of building with the bricks contained in my boxes of 'gifts,' I hold to be, in the highest degree, important for children, even if these representations are imperfect, and fall far short of their originals. The eye is at all events aroused and stimulated to observe with greater precision than before the object that has been represented, when next it actually comes before the child in nature or in life. And thus, by means of perhaps a quite imperfect outward representation, the inner perception is made more perfect." — *Letters on the Kindergarten*, p. 90.

least of its services, since little children are so liable to be driven hither and thither, and at times completely overwhelmed, by gusts and storms of feeling. Control and direction of feeling are two of the first things we have to help the young to learn.

In these ways, then, — by the processes of taking in, assimilating, and expressing, — the child's self is called into action; and more particularly by *expressing* is this *self-activity* produced. I need not again describe the nature of self-activity. It will be enough to note that the life and growth of the mind, as of the body, consists largely in transformation of material, and that by this exercise of its functions the powers of the mind as a whole are developed and strengthened; that the mind is aided in its growth by its taking in the kind of knowledge it needs, just so much as it needs, and just when it needs this knowledge; and that it is to work this up into its very self, and to use it as a means of life.

Most of what I have been saying has had to do with taking in and assimilating. I have but opened the subject of *giving out*. I must now enter somewhat more into details. One of the chief objects of the kindergarten is to help the child to use his knowledge, and his partially assimilated information, *to express himself*; and this by each and all of those modes and means of expression which really lie within his power, and are most natural to him. The watchwords of the kindergarten are self-activity, all-sided connectedness, creativeness, or expressive activity, well-ordered physical freedom and activity, and happy and harmonious environment. Through

doing, thinking, and feeling it endeavors to develop the child's self — his individuality; to help him to assimilate information, so that it may become knowledge; to develop his skill in doing, and his physical powers; and all this in the midst of, and largely by means of, surroundings harmonious with and delightful to child-nature. But what are the child's means and modes of expression? First come *movement* and *gesture*. Watch a child in expectation of some treat, or under the impulse of some happy thought, dancing along, moving his arms, swaying his body, tossing his head and laughing; or, under dread of something unpleasant, moving slowly, shrinking himself together, twisting his body, hanging his head, — and it will be at once seen how powerful a means of expression — especially of expressing feeling — movement is. Or notice him and his fellows at play, how they love to imitate the doings of adults around them, and to dramatize everything, playing at riding, at hunting, at driving, and the rest; while the girls keep house, or go to market, or look after baby. Dramatic action, *gesture*, — often accompanied by strange descriptive sounds, — is not only the mode they choose for expressing their own meaning, but also the mode which most readily conveys to them the meaning of some one else. Suiting the action to the word and the word to the action is not only a device of great value on the stage; it is also an excellent plan for making the meaning of words clear to little children, and for helping them to remember and reproduce this meaning. Moreover, the free physical exercise produced in this way in his games always has a meaning

for the child,—is closely linked to his ideas and thoughts,—and therefore is far more interesting and far more helpful to him than artificial gymnastics ever can be, prescribed for him as they are by others, and which are liable to call his attention only to the physical side of his nature. Physical exercise should in the main be the expression of ideas and feelings, however simple; and that is why school-games, when orderly and free, are found in practice to be of much greater value than school-gymnastics, especially such as are merely acrobatic. But apart from the particular kind of exercise here referred to, definite physical education must of course always be a part—an important part—of all education, and in the form of exercise usually adopted in kindergartens, the grace and beauty of the movements, and their evident physical utility, add just that interest and meaning which work in a gymnasium so often lacks.

Next may be mentioned *song*,—by which I do not mean necessarily songs with words, but rather the giving vent to rhythmic sounds, humming, the first beginning of music,—sounds to which sense soon weds itself, and with sense, words. This is so closely connected with the preceding that I need not further enlarge upon it here. Then there is the *use of the concrete*—in building when the material is simply put together, and in modelling when the shape of the material itself is altered. The familiar scene on the sea-beach, or in a hay-field, or even in the grimy but most wonderful gutter, or the nursery experience with regard to bricks, and bits of colored paper, and scraps of cloth,—all these tell the tale of children's delight

in constructing with the concrete, in giving outward form in material to what is in their minds. And again, not only do children express themselves readily in this way, but they understand this mode of presenting information better than any other. The best description of a thing is the thing itself—then a concrete model of it—then a picture—and, last of all (certainly the last with young children), a statement in words. How strongly do pictures appeal to all of us! How clearly, vividly, concisely they tell their story to us—and in a language intelligible to all nations alike, and which all children so quickly learn! And not only do children quickly learn to understand this picture-speech, they will freely and gladly *use* it to express their own ideas, if the smallest help and encouragement be given them, or even without any encouragement at all. Of course one cannot understand a child's picture-speech at once, any more than one can his other utterances. We must study it and learn it. It is not very hard, and it is intensely interesting; and, moreover, it will enable us to learn more about the contents of a child's mind than any other plan whatever. Indeed, drawing as a means of expression, and as a definite test of definite knowledge, is of the highest value all through school life, and long after that period as well. If I want any one to tell me what a plant or a flower is like, I value two or three little drawings of it infinitely more than pages of words—very nicely put together, no doubt, but seldom definite and full enough to enable me to draw the thing they describe. Moreover, the desire and

the effort to draw a thing produce a closer and more fruitful observation of details than is produced in any other way. Of the value of drawing — or, as I call it, *graphic representation*, or *picture paraphrasing* — in the teaching of literature, I cannot speak here as it deserves ; I can only refer to it and pass on.¹

And last — mingled with these modes of expression, growing up out of them, and gradually becoming the most powerful of all — comes the child's own use of *language*, verbal speech. As far as the sounds alone are concerned, the child usually picks them up quickly enough ; but the precise meaning of words and sentences is another matter altogether. It is mastered only very slowly by the child ; indeed, it is only too evident that the majority of people never completely succeed in understanding the definite, precise meaning of the words and sentences they themselves use. It is a great mistake to presume too far on a child's power to understand and to use language. In the kindergarten our task is rather to prepare the child to use language hereafter in the school as one of the chief means he will then have to employ for expressing himself and for gaining knowledge. At

¹ “It consists in requiring the pupils to represent on paper a scene or action or figure from their poem. It induces a close examination of what the poet actually says ; it causes the foundation of definite, clear mental images ; it allows the pupil to use in expressing himself that kind of language most intelligible to the young, — pictures ; and it affords the teacher an excellent means of testing how far the pupils have understood what has been described. Our object here is not art-work, but the translation of *word-speech* into *picture-speech*, however clumsy the picture may be.” See my *English Literature Teaching in Schools* (Percival & Co.). See also the note on p. 129 of this chapter.

first it is not his chief means—and certainly not his *only* means, as some people seem to think—for expression and acquisition; and children's confused statements—over which the public, and even teachers, often make merry—are simply, in many cases, the results of premature and foolish forcing on of the use of language, only half understood by the children, and not infrequently very hazily used by teachers and parents themselves. We shall best succeed in helping the child to use and understand language aright, not by restricting him to language, but by using *all* his modes and means of expression in close connection with one another, and with language, and language in close connection with them all. This is just what the kindergarten does. And while it does this, mark the connectedness of the whole process—as shown, for instance, in the use of that most difficult and most valuable of all the kindergarten means of education, the story told by the teacher. The story of the week deals with the things the children have been led to observe and take an interest in; it introduces language and helps the children to improve their vocabulary and mode of speaking; it is illustrated by things which the children and the teacher have collected from time to time, and by concrete constructions and modellings and pictures made by the children; its meaning is made real, and is brought out still more clearly by pictures not drawn by the children but exhibited to them; it is enlivened and dramatically made intelligible (especially as to feeling) by songs and games which introduce movement and gesture, and which utilize many a scrap of

knowledge picked up by the children themselves. The story may prompt and direct the other work and play, or the work and play may prompt the story ; it matters little which, so long as together they produce one organic whole, and so long as all the different modes and means of expression are made to co-operate and interpret one another. In this way the child learns many things and acquires power and skill ; and, amongst other things, he acquires power and skill in the use of language, far more real and varied and valuable than any spelling-book or primer can give.

Such are some of the most characteristic of Froebel's kindergarten methods. But the most striking and original of them all have yet to be described, — those, namely, which are connected with what are called "gifts" and "occupations," which it took Froebel some fifteen years (1835-50) to think out and invent. With these I must now endeavor to deal.¹

The first plaything with which the child is provided

¹ In 1835 Froebel begins with the study of ball games at Burgdorf. In 1850 he founded *The Weekly Journal of Education*, in the pages of which appeared a description of a tolerably complete *System of Gifts and Occupations*. This and twenty-nine other papers on the kindergarten were collected and published by Dr. W. Lange in his volume called *Die Pädagogik des Kindergartens*. Most of these papers are of very high value ; but, strange to say, they have not yet been translated. Those writers, other than Froebel, to whom I am most indebted for what I say of the "gifts" are Dr. Karl Schmidt (in his *Geschichte der Pädagogik*) and Prof. Joseph Payne (in the lecture already referred to, which itself owes somewhat to Dr. Schmidt) ; while here and there a hint is taken from Miss Shirreff's *The Kindergarten at Home*, and from Koehler's well-known *Praxis des Kindergartens*.

is, let us suppose, a ball made of wool, of one of the primary colors, say scarlet. It is placed before the baby on the floor, rolled along the floor to right, to left, from him and to him, thrown into the air and let fall ; or, tied to a piece of string, it may be swung as a pendulum or whirled in a circle. It is given to baby ; he takes it into his hand ; grasps it, and by grasping it strengthens the muscles of his hand and has his sensations directed to one point. He tries to do with the ball what he has seen you do — fails — can hardly hold it — tries again and again, and at length succeeds — and then is never tired of doing something with it. All this is play — play which delights him ; but it is play that has within it a germ of education. The child is gaining his first notion of color (the ball is like the curtains, red, but not like the floor or mother's dress), of material (the ball is soft and fluffy like the rug, but the floor is hard), of form, of motion, of direction (to and fro, up and down), of action and reaction, as well as of muscular sensibility. At the same time the mother or the teacher associates some of the simplest words with the thing and its actions, — red, soft, warm, up, down, to, from, right, left, etc., — and so leads the child unconsciously to associate words with things and actions ; and, by constantly employing words in their proper sense and in the immediate presence of what they tell him, initiates the child into the use of his mother-tongue. Baby has begun to be an observer and experimenter, and even to express his observations in words. Of course all this is in a most elementary form — little more than sensation with the microscopic

beginnings of perception. Sometime or other this must begin. Froebel takes the precaution that the right environment and means of development shall be provided from the very first, and always ready as soon as they are needed, however unconscious and invisible the need may be.

We come now to the "First Gift." This consists of a box of six soft woollen balls of six different colors, three primary and three secondary, or derived. One of these the child recognizes as like the first ball known; the other he sees are unlike it. The same games as before are continued. And now let us suppose half a dozen children to be present. Each child has a differently colored ball. The primary colors are all contrasted in turn, two and two, and the intermediate—or, as Froebel would say, the "reconciling"—color, derived from each pair, is placed between them. The idea of *comparison* is thus introduced, and similarity, contrast, and discrimination are brought into play. Sensation and perception are also made to grow clearer and stronger by a wider and more frequent exercise. The balls lend themselves to games which are numerous beyond all counting. The ball is, in fact, man's favorite plaything, indoors and out, from cradle-time to the time when he can play no more.

The "Second Gift" consists of a box containing three objects, all of hard wood,—a sphere (larger than the balls we have been using), a cube (next to the sphere the simplest regular solid), and the cylinder¹ (which combines certain characteristics of both

¹ The cylinder was added somewhere about 1844. It should be noted that in Froebel's article on the gifts and occupations referred

the sphere and the cube). The sphere is the known, as far, at least, as shape is concerned, and we must use it to help us to pass on to the unknown. But it differs somewhat from the woollen balls. It is perhaps larger; it is hard, they are soft; it is smooth, they are rough; it is heavy, they are light. If dropped, it makes a different sound to that made by a woollen ball. When this has all been noticed, we pass on to the cube. Differences of shape and movement strike us at once: the sphere is round, with one surface, no corners or edges, easily moved, rolls; the cube is not round, with several surfaces, corners and edges, not so easy to move, slides. Many little games will bring out all this readily. Then the cylinder is introduced as the Froebelian "reconciliation" between the sphere and the cube: it possesses some of the characteristics and powers of each, and so links them together; and yet it differs from each. It has a round surface like the sphere, and flat ends like the cube. So with regard to movement: the sphere and the cylinder roll; the cylinder and the cube slide; the sphere can roll in every position, the cylinder only on its side; the cube can slide on its six faces, the cylinder only on its two ends. By spinning the

to above, Gift II contains also a cone of revolution, or right cone. "As the cylinder," he says, "excludes the intuition (*Anschauung*) of corners and the fixed rotation upon one point, it calls for and commands in its turn a body intermediary between all three, that is to say, uniting the properties of all three, (which properties are) corners or points, edges or lines, sides or surfaces, plane as well as curved; this is the revolving cone." The introduction of this cone would simplify many difficulties which kindergarten teachers have felt in the development of some important forms.

cube and cylinder suspended by a string at various points on their surfaces, their likeness and unlikeness are still farther shown. The surfaces, then the edges, then the corners, are all examined ; and so on. Then common objects like our three shapes are pointed to or named by the children. The sphere is like an orange, a head, the beads of a necklace ; the cube is like mamma's work-box, a trunk, a book, a chest of drawers ; the cylinder is like the ruler on the table, a candle, the garden roller, cook's rolling-pin. All these various exercises bring into the mind notions of space, time, form, motion, relativity in general ;¹ and, like the sun, the rain, and the earth in physical nature, set the thought-germs growing and give them the right nourishment.

The "Third Gift" is a large wooden cube divided into eight small cubes of equal size. The cube is known, and we present it to the children as a complete whole. We proceed by analysis to call attention to the relations of the parts to the whole, and of the parts to one another. The cube is larger than that in Gift II, but similar in shape. The eight small cubes are the same in form as one another and as the cube they compose when put together. They are equal to one another in size, but smaller than the complete cube. The notion of a whole as made up of parts is introduced, and of parts going together to compose a complete whole ; and this is emphasized by our constantly in every exercise taking the whole cube to

¹ *Relativity* is used to express the relation or connection of things to or with one another — their bearing on one another — as parts of one great whole.

pieces, arranging the pieces in some symmetrical way, and then gradually building the complete cube once more. The children acquire the ideas — and perhaps also the names — both in immediate connection with actual concrete things — of halves, quarters, eighths. Imagination is now called in; the cubes are called "bricks"; and the instinct of construction is awakened. In the buildings and patterns Froebel would have the children led to accustom themselves to regularity, care, precision, and beauty. They should never be allowed to roughly destroy. He lays great stress on *all* the material being used up each time, so that the children may become accustomed to reflection, to having always a distinct aim before their eyes, and to wasting nothing. The child must reflect in some measure, if he feels he has to use up all his bricks. If one or two are by chance left over, he must bring them in symmetrically as parts of the whole; and this will renew and emphasize his attention to the symmetry of his construction. Besides, constructions are sure to become aimless and vague if only so much of the material is employed as the whim of the moment prompts. The things constructed will at first be imitations from others present before the children, either ready-made, or made there and then by the teacher, — then they will be made from memory, — then they will be original creations. They may be an armchair for father, a bench, a throne for the queen, a cross, a monument, a doorway, steps — in fact anything the child likes that has a definite form and a name. Our most prominent aims in all this — and in the similar exercises with the three following gifts —

may be described as exciting interest in numbers and in their relations to one another, associating number with form, and applying number to artistic constructions. And in all and through all it will be noticed that each child employs his own hands, his own mind, and his *whole* mind on his work. He is himself giving outward form and expression to what he has himself conceived. He is, therefore, intensely interested and spontaneously happy.

The "Fourth," "Fifth," and "Sixth Gifts" continue the analysis of the cube, introducing new forms and giving scope for exercises and constructions more and more varied. In the "Fourth Gift" the cube is divided into eight equal oblong parallelopipeds, or common brick forms, by being divided into four equal slabs by horizontal sections, these being bisected by a vertical cut parallel to two of the faces. The new shape brings in a considerable development of the notions already referred to, especially in respect to vertical building. By means of this gift, also, areas may be set out and determined; by laying one brick across another, examples of balance or equilibrium may be given; while by placing all the bricks in a line, with the length vertical, so that the falling of one will cause the others to fall also, the idea of communicated motion can be introduced. The "Fifth Gift" is a development of the "Third." The cube is trisected both horizontally and vertically, so that twenty-seven small equal cubes are produced, and three of these are bisected vertically through a diagonal, and three others are quartered in a similar way. This is in some ways the most valuable of all the gifts, especially in the transition classes just above the kindergarten. Its

exercises are simply countless. It introduces the triangle. The parallelogram and the trapezoid can now be constructed; and later on older children can by building see the truth of the statement that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides; while in number work they may even learn (should it be thought necessary) how to extract the cube root. Of course the names of the figures and solids and the enunciations of the problems, in the first instance and even in the second, need not—and I think should not—be given in most cases. The geometrical work should be kept informal. The use of this gift should, moreover, be continued up into the school itself. The "Sixth Gift" continues the development of the "Fourth." The cube is divided into twenty-seven equal oblong parallelopipeds, and of these, three are bisected lengthwise and six are bisected breadthwise. This gift, like the *fourth*, offers excellent means for working out little problems as to areas. What is usually accepted now as the "Seventh Gift" introduces surfaces, and consists of quadrangular and triangular tablets of thin wood or card-board—squares, equilateral triangles, right-angled triangles, etc. Sets of these tablets may be colored uniformly with the seven colors of the rainbow, and black and white, and used for color constructions; the results, if need be, being copied permanently (in *paper-mosaic*) by pasting bits of similarly colored and similarly shaped gummed-paper on to card-board.¹ The "Eighth" and

¹ Of course when an exercise other than one in color is intended, the tablets should be plain (*i.e.* of the wood's natural color) or else

the "Ninth Gifts" are introductory to drawing — are, in fact, linear drawing in the concrete. The former consists of small sticks or laths; the latter, of circular and semi-circular rings. These can be laid in all sorts of patterns, and be used to copy all sorts of shapes — the former being also specially useful in counting-exercises. By introducing small pith, wax, or cork balls or soaked peas, the sticks — though wires are better — can be used for constructing the skeleton outlines of solids. But I need not continue. In each case the kinds of exercise, always gradually and continuously progressive, are the same as those I have described. Observation is called on with increasing strictness, relativity is more and more appreciated, and opportunities are afforded for countless manifestations of constructiveness. And all the while impressions and elementary notions are being formed in the mind which will bear geometrical fruit hereafter, and fruit of æsthetic kind. The dawning sense of the beautiful as well as of the true will have begun to gain consistency and power. In the case of the Fifth Gift, especially, an experience of some of the fundamental operations of algebra, algebraic and other geometry and trigonometry may easily be acquired, though only in a most elementary state; and the connection of the triangle with the three-faced prisms will also be perceived. But enough has been said to

all of one easily visible but not exciting color, such as reddish-brown, — otherwise color, with its contrasts and harmonies, will largely engross the children's attention. I may add that in sticking the colored paper on to card-board *both sides of the paper should be wetted*, otherwise it will curl up.

show what a wide field for varied activities is thus laid open to the children.

The gifts, it will be seen, follow a definite order, — the order of the natural growth of ideas and of progressive power in construction: at any rate this is so up to the Fifth Gift.¹ They are intended, as Hailmann puts it, "to give the child from time to time new universal aspects of the external world, suited to a child's development. . . . The gift in form and material is determined by the cosmic phase (i.e. the universal idea) to be brought to the child's apprehension, and by the condition of the child's development at the period for which the gift is intended." As a rule, the first four gifts will last a child up to the end of his fourth year. Froebel himself tells us what conditions a *true* gift should satisfy. They amount to these: it should enable the child to interpret the external world around him, and to give expression to the world

¹ As has already been said, a large number of the exercises with the Fifth Gift belong to the Transition Classes and to the school proper. It is usually best in the kindergarten to introduce along with the Fourth Gift the tablets of Gift VII, closely followed by the sticks of Gift VIII, and to postpone the greater part of the exercises of Gift V, and all of those of Gift VI till later. Indeed, Gift VI is seldom needed at all till the children are in their seventh or eighth year. When, however, Gift VII is introduced with Gift IV, or immediately after the beginning of Gift V, it should not, I think, contain any surfaces which have not been led up to properly. The surfaces which are equilateral, obtuse-angled, etc., which Gift VII includes, and which have not been led up to, may be introduced through the sticks of Gift VIII and card-board; and, reversing our former mode of proceeding, we may, by the help of card-board, construct the prisms from which the new surfaces may be derived, just as our other surfaces were derived from the other prisms with which we have been dealing.

within him; each should, as far as may be, include those which have gone before and foreshadow those which are to follow; and each should readily make prominent the idea of a whole — of a whole as made up of parts, and of parts going together to form an orderly whole. The condition of “expressing the world within,” however, includes the “occupations” as well as the gifts; and Froebel himself never made any clear distinction between them. Gifts and occupations are undoubtedly very closely connected; and, indeed, unless the latter are treated as direct applications to practice of what has been learnt from the former, they are liable to have very little educational value whatever, even when they are connected with the games. Still, the distinction between them is not hard to see, and, as Hailmann says, has a decided value of its own. But let me give a list of the “occupations” which are most used at the present time. The grouping is merely adopted for purposes of reference, and not necessarily as an indication of the order in which they should be used.

Solids. — Modelling in clay and in card-board, paper-folding (in three dimensions), and, later on, wood-carving, or sloyd.

Surfaces. — Paper-folding (in two dimensions), paper-cutting, paper-mosaic, work with color-brush.

Lines and Points. — Mat-plaiting, slat-weaving, paper-weaving, kindergarten-sewing, wax or cork work with sticks, drawing in chequers and free drawing, — and sometimes paper-twisting, — together with bead-threading, and sometimes (but not often) perforating. All these occupations — whose names fairly well in-

dicate in what they consist — have mainly to do with *giving out*, or expression ; while the gifts have mainly, though not exclusively, to do with *taking in* and *assimilating*. The former, as Hailmann points out, give invention, power, skill ; the latter give discovery, insight, ideas. In the construction-exercises the gifts only induce arrangement of materials whose individual shapes do not change, and this mainly for the purpose of making noticeable the relations of parts to one another and to the whole : the occupations deal with materials plastic or easily changed in form, and the exercises consist in modifying, changing the form, adapting means to ends, creating new wholes from parts of other wholes (the concrete counterpart of constructive imagination) ; and the wholes are to be permanent and, as far as possible, of some practical value. And just as in the case of the gifts we call attention to the *likeness* of the shapes we are dealing with to common objects around us, so in the case of the occupations, we use our materials to *make copies* of those common objects ; though, of course, we do not *restrict* ourselves to using them in this way, as I have just explained. But, as I have already pointed out in the earlier part of this chapter, productive or creative work, besides resulting in skill, has important *intellectual* effects of its own : it corrects faulty *taking in* (or at least calls attention to its faultiness), and vigorously assists assimilation by shaking the parts of our knowledge into their proper relations ; while it enables the learner to feel the reality of those relations as nothing else can do. So that, in spite of our distinctions, back we come to the very close connec

tion between occupations and gifts. We must be conscious of ideas before we can express them, and so gift-work must regularly precede occupation-work ; and we must have mastery over our material before we can use it freely and effectively to express our ideas, and so the materials of the occupations must be such as come readily within the child's powers of control, and be fitted to do the work. Some connections are evident at once : clay and card-board modelling go with all the first six gifts, as far as exercises in solid form are concerned ; paper-folding, paper-cutting, and paper-mosaic (or work with colored paper pasted on card-board) go with the tablets for exercises on surfaces ; drawing and kindergarten-sewing and paper-twisting go with the sticks and rings ; and so on. But we have to look more closely even than this. As we have seen, the gifts lend themselves to a great variety of exercises. Sometimes the observations and impressions refer to solid form, sometimes to number, sometimes to ideas of plane geometry, sometimes to ideas of beauty, and so on. In choosing the occupation we are to use, and the way we are to use it as a practical sequence to a particular gift-exercise, we must note the nature of that exercise, and make our choice accordingly. So, for instance, for number — especially numbers in groups — mat-plaiting, which markedly uses numbers in groups, is an excellent sequence ; and so too at times is drawing in chequers, or bead-threading. For plane geometry we may choose paper-cutting or paper-folding ; and for ideas of beauty, color-work, paper-mosaic, or free drawing. Not that we are to restrict the occupation-work solely to these ideas ; but

these ideas must at least be very prominent among those which we apply. This is why we cannot arrange the occupations in any definite sequence of their own. For the rest I need only add that, since the occupations distinctly introduce manual exercise and demand dexterity, neatness, and accuracy, they are of especial value in helping to make the hands and the eyes obedient, effective servants of the mind, and in particular of the will ; while, moreover, their freedom and suggestiveness never fail to delight and to stimulate both little children and even those other children who are grown up. It must not, however, be supposed that *any* manual work will do as an occupation. All honest work, certainly, produces a good effect ; and domestic service — which is a child's public service — most certainly ennobles a child, and, indeed, all of us. But just as in the songs and games, so here — a choice has to be made ; and what is chosen has to be adapted to the kindergarten purpose, — the purpose of mental, physical, and moral development. Not only has the material of an occupation to be easy for a child to manipulate, and well fitted for the work required of it ; but the occupation in itself must be varied and many-sided in its educative power ; must not be simply imitative ; must draw into itself what has gone before and reach out to what is to follow ; and must distinctly form a part of the organic unity of the whole kindergarten process. The other kinds of work may very well be left for the freer hours of the life at home.

There is one other centre of interest and source of stimulation in the kindergarten to which I must refer,

though the fuller treatment of it must be postponed to the next chapter. I mean the study of nature, or, rather, the observation of natural surroundings and the stimulation of curiosity concerning them. Nature-study in any true sense does not belong to the kindergarten proper but to the transition classes, and still more to the school. What the kindergarten endeavors to do is to prepare the children for such a study, and to give them an impulse and a bias in that direction. Of the general ethical effects which should result from a close intercourse and familiarity with nature I have spoken in both of the two chapters which precede this. With the kindergarten mode of procedure I have dealt in the chapter on the *Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*. The plan, it will be remembered, though guided by a definite aim in the teacher's mind, is essentially an indirect and informal one, but all the more effective on that account. The children are to be encouraged in their instinctive love for flowers and living creatures by means of gardening¹ and the care of pet animals; while the games and songs are to abound in references to, and parables taken from, the children's natural surroundings and especially the lives and habits of birds and the small four-footed things with which children are acquainted; human beings, especially human beings who work, not being omitted from the circle of interest. The whole matter, after the plan of

¹ See the *Education of Man* generally; and more particularly Froebel's paper, "Die Gärten der Kinder im Kindergarten" (the children's gardens in the kindergarten), in the volume entitled *Die Pädagogik des Kindergartens*.

the kindergarten, is treated as a healthy, happy recreation, with just a germ of duty and responsibility in it; and, so treated, will undoubtedly produce the result aimed at,—interest in nature. And if this delight in the wonder and beauty of nature should, as Froebel thinks, be called into play and exercised in the country, how much more is it necessary in our huge and smoky towns, where little children are almost wholly shut out from nature—from birds, and flowers, and streams, and soft green grass. Yet very few kindergartens seem to make a really earnest effort in this direction. The matter, no doubt, presents a certain amount of difficulty; but it is not really so difficult as some seem to imagine. Plants and flowers can be grown in pots and boxes; canaries and poultry can be kept; cats and dogs and tortoises are not hard to manage; and aquariums are by no means impossible. I have known all this managed in London, and with the happiest results. There is no reason why it should not be done elsewhere—no reason except that many kindergarten teachers are still blind to its value, and are in such a hurry to get on to books and book-work that they will hardly let childhood ripen in children. Without this contact with living nature, however, no kindergarten is complete. When it is absent we may only too surely suspect that the true understanding of Froebel's process as a whole is absent also.¹

¹ In this chapter I have profited in more than one place by the good counsel of Madame Michaelis, the best-known authority in England on the subject of kindergarten exercises.

CHAPTER VIII

TRANSITION CLASSES — THEIR AIM AND METHODS — NATURE-STUDY

CONTINUITY, it will be remembered, is one of the fundamental principles of Froebel's theory of education; and yet to any one who has followed the kindergarten plan as it has just been described, and who is at all acquainted with schools as they are, it must be quite as evident, as it was to Froebel himself, that unless very great care is taken a very marked discontinuity is likely to occur at this point. In a letter to Ida Seele, written in 1847, Froebel says: "A school is a place in which and by whose method a human being obtains knowledge of something outside himself, and is won to the contemplation and acquisition of facts placed before him. But the child must first himself be something before he can turn to the contemplation of strange things not wholly akin to his nature."¹ It was this need that the child should *be something* which he had felt very keenly in his school work with the younger children and which he had set himself to meet by the invention of the kindergarten. But even then he found that the transition from the methods of the kindergarten to those of an ordinary school was liable to be too abrupt, the change

¹ *Letters on the Kindergarten*, p. 291.

of exercise too sudden, the demand for facts and abstractions too new, so that there resulted a distinct harm to the child's mind; and the school itself was often perplexed and dissatisfied with the new pupil. To avoid this he saw that there must be an intermediate stage in which, without breaking wholly or suddenly with the kindergarten, the child must be gradually made ready to profit by the other methods and other work of schools such as we find them. To do this properly we must of course recall to mind the essential characteristics of the kindergarten and those of the school; we must compare them and note their likenesses and unlikenesses; and upon the results of this we must found our transitional methods and our new choice of subjects, if the discontinuity is to be reduced to a minimum,—which discontinuity would wholly disappear if the schools could be persuaded to carry on the use of the most fruitful of the kindergarten methods, at any rate throughout their lower classes. But long before the year 1840 and the establishment of the first kindergarten Froebel's mind had been occupied with the problem of this period of transition from infancy to boyhood, which may be taken to be roughly from the age of six to that of eight, or from seven to nine. In the *Education of Man* the sections (sects. 45-59) which treat of "Boyhood" and "The Boy at School," though in the main describing the characteristic activities of boyhood and how the school should recognize and use them, nevertheless constantly refer to the preceding period of infancy or childhood, point out the most marked features of the transition, and insist upon the necessity for continuity.

In the first of the sections referred to it is maintained that the period of childhood is predominantly that of life for the sake of merely living and developing, during which the child should gain knowledge of himself and his own powers by making the internal external; while the period of boyhood is predominantly the period for *learning*, for making the external internal. The school leads the child to the consideration and knowledge of particular relationships and individual things external to himself, and of their nature in accordance with the laws that lie in them, with a view to helping him later on to see a deeper connectedness, and to move forward from the particular to the universal. Its task is "the conscious communication of knowledge for a definite purpose and in a definite inner connection, which the teacher must always have present in his mind." It should give firmness to the will and quicken it, so that it may become pure, and strong, and enduring, and manifest itself in a genuine human life. Later on we are told that school instruction should be by means of example and words. Neither example alone nor words alone will do: not example alone, for it is particular and special, and the word is needed to give to particular individual examples universal applicability; nor words alone, for example is needed to interpret and explain the word, which is general, spiritual, and often ambiguous. But even instruction and example are not enough; there should also be a good, pure heart for them to act upon, and this should have been produced by the proper treatment of the child in the preceding period.

There is much else which might be quoted from the *Education of Man* bearing on the question before us. But we have a better and more recent source from which we may with great advantage draw enlightenment. During the last years of his life the difficulties of this transitional period seem to have constantly exercised Froebel's thoughts — so much so that he invented a new gift of fourteen solids for the special use of the transition or intermediate classes ; and just four weeks before his death he wrote a long letter to Emma Bothmann, one of his students, dealing solely with this matter, and bearing date "Marienthal, May 25th, 1852."¹ It is to this letter, I think, we should principally turn for direct information as to Froebel's own views on the subject ; and in doing so we shall get still further help if we study once more the particular passages in the *Education of Man* to which he refers.

"In the kindergarten," says Froebel in this letter, "we have only to deal with intuition (that is, intelligent, direct observation) — apprehension — with doing, exact designation of a thing by means of the word, as also exact designation of that produced by doing ; but not yet with perception and re-perception (or cognition), detached, as it were, from the object perceived. The object and the cognition of it, intuition and the word, form still in many ways an intimate unity, just as the soul and body do. This kindergarten stage of education must be maintained by the kindergarten teacher, as one very sharply

¹ *Die Vermittlungsschule* (The Intermediate School), in the volume entitled *Die Pädagogik des Kindergartens*.

defined. It entirely excludes, for the present, re-perception and abstract, self-dependent thought, towards which the intermediate school leads us for the first time." This is precisely the distinction which Rosmini makes (*Method in Education*, sect. iii) between cognitions of the first and second orders, the latter of which he places in his third period of education, and the transition from the first to the second of which he considers is mainly assisted by *language*, which, he says, serves the child as a kind of artificial memory. But let us mark the stages again. The first stage—sensation with the accompanying and resulting percept—the effect produced on the mind by an object actually present; and the second stage—the trace left on the mind when the object is no longer present—the mental image, which can be called up and re-perceived, and later on, in company with other mental images, can be analyzed and elaborated (apart from the object) by the mind's own powers. This distinction is strongly supported by physical reasons, for it is, as a rule, at the close of the seventh year that the predominance of the brain is firmly established. It has attained very nearly its maximum size, and is firmer, while its structural development (shown mainly in a deeper and more intricate furrowing of the convolutions) henceforth proceeds much more rapidly. Physically, therefore, the child is better fitted to analyze and elaborate the sense-impressions and percepts which it has acquired; and close observers of child-mind tell us that this is also plainly to be seen in the child's outer manifestations of mental activity at this period. The eighth year

usually introduces us to the critical period of second dentition, which demands our most watchful care. But when that is safely over, the child forges ahead rapidly — often far too rapidly for its physical welfare — and its strictly intellectual life may be said to have definitely begun. And so, even if there were no un-Froebellian school to follow, it would still be necessary, between the years of seven and nine, to introduce gradually some change in the mental exercises, and in the material, which we employ in the earlier years.

But to return to Froebel's letter. "In the kindergarten the essential thing is *the child* — its nature, its growth in strength and efficiency, its development, advancement, education. In the school proper this is reversed. The essential thing here is the object, *its* nature, and the cognition, the intuition and apprehension of *its* properties and relations; the formative effect on the child being secondary, and, so to speak, accessory and accidental. Through the demand made on the child for understanding the object, the material substance, the thing in its true nature, in its distinct properties and clear relations, the child itself is also again influenced; but still the right cognition and perception of the object by means of intuition is the chief concern. In the school, in fact, we have mainly to do with the comprehension of the object by means of *thought*, the internal representation, the abstraction, or, so to speak, the unclothing of the body of the object. The intermediate school thus forms the transition from sensuous and direct intuition to abstract thought-comprehension." Again he says:

“The keystone of the kindergarten activity is the transformation of material, and, therefore, the perception of the mutual connectedness of the various solid forms, their derivation from one another, and the connection of all with the primary unity of space. . . . As to the representation of the object by the sign, *i.e.* by drawing: in the kindergarten we hear little of this, because the small fingers are still too weak; stick-laying supplies its place on the one side, and, on the other, the making of round o’s, which children love so much to do with their pencils, and which can be carried forward to the simple drawing of flowers and leaves. However, drawing, as writing, precisely for the sake of the weak little fingers, has a preponderance in the intermediate school, as has also exercise in color and in songs and singing, to which last the singing in the kindergarten is only preparatory. Add (to what has been mentioned) the introduction to life itself, at first through the movement-plays, and then through the child’s cultivation of his little garden-beds, and the personal feeling of self and of life awakened and nourished in the child by means of these; and with the advance of this (simultaneously given and aroused), a prophetic sense of a fatherly Life-giver, and his life-fostering care. . . . Add all this, and you have the kindergarten in its complete accomplishment, and the child as the pupil of the same on the threshold of the intermediate school.” “You see,” he adds, “with what a foundation, a basis, with what a sum of living germs in the life-material which he has gathered, the child passes from the kindergarten to the intermediate school. At

no point does the preparatory direction fail him; for every development demanded by life the impulse has been given, as this shows itself in the great whole of nature. All this awaits only development from unconsciousness, through growing consciousness, to consciousness itself; and this, now, is the task of the preparatory school. What path does the preparatory, or intermediate school, now follow? It attaches itself very closely to the acts, to the phenomena, and to the intuitions of the kindergarten; but it gives to the observation of the particular and individual a generality of significance, an intellectual apprehension, and a thought-form; for example: my little ball moves easily hither and thither, forward and back, up and down (*intuition of the kindergarten*). Everywhere in space I can imagine three lines, three directions, which cut one another at right angles at one point (*conception of the intermediate school*). . . . A whole, two halves; two halves, a whole (*intuition of the kindergarten*). I can divide every whole into two halves, and can always put together these halves to make the whole again (*intellectual and general conception of the intermediate school*).” He might have added a still more striking contrast between the kindergarten intercourse with plants and animals as they live and grow and the first advance towards formal botany and zoology in the intermediate school.

I have quoted but a few of the passages of this remarkable letter which bear most distinctly on the *general* aspect of the question with which I am dealing. The whole of the letter, however, is worthy of very careful attention, and should have been translated

long ago. But let us now look at some of the practical applications to which these general principles readily lend themselves. On the one hand, we have the kindergarten, with its activities almost exclusively concerned with physical development and with sense-impressions, percepts, mental images, and certain rudimentary feelings chiefly egoistic. On the other, we have the school proper, in which we have most to do with conception or the formation of general ideas, and with judgment and reasoning. Without breaking with the former we have gradually to fit the child for the latter. Now in our study of the growth of mind we have found that the different modes of activity show themselves as becoming noticeably prominent in a certain order, while the mind is working up its material into higher and higher, or more and more abstract and universal forms. Between the formation of percepts and mental images and the formation of general ideas and the rest, two intimately related modes of activity emerge clearly into view and demand our attention. They are memory and imagination. In the intermediate classes, therefore, the earlier forms of memory and imagination distinctly indicate themselves as modes of activity in which the mind should specially be exercised — though, of course, from the first, the mind has already been remembering and imagining many things. It is only, however, on the earlier and simpler forms of these that I would lay any stress — the later and more elaborated forms belong to the school proper. Memory and imagination — or *constructive* imagination as it is usually called — in the transition classes, or intermediate school, must

be concerned with what the child brings with it from the kindergarten, viz. sense-impressions, percepts, mental images, and childish feelings. Memory in particular will not be merely, nor even chiefly, the mind exercising itself on *words*; it will be memory of the eye, memory of the touch, of muscular sensation, and also to some extent memory of the ear. Memory of words spoken and written will, of course, not be omitted; and will be exercised in close connection with the things and actions observed, and with the mental results of observation. In the higher transition classes exercises in rudimentary conception and reasoning, etc., will be introduced; but they will not be effective until the mind has made some small progress in developing its powers of observation, memory, and imagination. We must remember, moreover, that memory, imagination, and the rest are not parts or sections of the mind, but simply the kinds or modes of activity in which the mind as a whole manifests itself. The mind as a whole, therefore,—though only a partially developed whole,—is what we must guide, stimulate, and nourish.

I will now go through the various departments of the kindergarten, and point out what changes as to method, subject-matter, etc., the transition classes demand.

We must bear in mind that there is to be a general movement in the direction of instruction—towards the acquiring of knowledge more or less, though not wholly, for its own sake. The *stories* will more and more take the form of biography and real adventure — the simple life-story of interesting human beings

(interesting *to the children*), and of other interesting animals, and also of plants and flowers — stories that bring out the most distinctive characteristics and habits clearly. This is the beginning of history. Such stories will also deal with localities and surroundings — a place becomes interesting speedily because of the living things in it — and this interest in localities and in the haunts of plants and animals is the beginning of geography. It is closely connected with nature-study, to which I shall presently refer. The *songs and games* follow in general the lead of the stories — apart from the advance made possible by the improvement of organs and limbs. They will have more to do with human occupations and industries, and will help considerably to exercise the mind in memory and imagination. The *games* may also call in the aid of the kindergarten occupations, and of other occupations specially fitted for the present stage of the child; and so become more practical, with concrete results which may be used. In other words, *games* and *occupations* should draw closer together and become more instructive; and the *songs* may begin to assume what, for want of a better term, I must call the first elements of a literary tone, *i.e.* become a little more imaginative and be better expressed. As to *the child's own use of language*, Froebel, you will remember, is very explicit in the *Education of Man*; and you will find much more on the same subject in *How Lina learns to Write and to Read* (note the *order*), written, I believe, about fifteen years later, and which is to be found in the same volume as the letter I have just been considering. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to quote

what Madame de Portugall has said on the subject.¹ “At the end of every talk the teacher can sum up, in a few simple, clear, concise sentences, some elementary notions to which the little story or object-lesson has led. These short statements, pronounced clearly and correctly, are the points of departure for the study of the mother-tongue, or rather of its first step, reading. Then these statements can be analyzed into words (five or six words), the words into syllables, the syllables into sounds. . . . Then the symbol, the sign, the letter, will be given to the child for the sound which he knows.” The child will reproduce orally the spoken statements and imitate in writing their written form, as Lina did; for writing teaches us to read just as drawing teaches us to observe. This gives us a good general idea of the kind of work required. But you will remember that Froebel considers writing and ciphering as special, and not the easiest, kinds of drawing, and begins the teaching of writing somewhat before that of reading. This, I think, is the right order for commencing these exercises, though, of course, reading will soon forge ahead of writing; while the drawing which he proposes as preparatory to writing is the drawing in checkers. As to the precise method to be used for reading, it seems now generally agreed that the best is the “Phonic-analytic” method — based on the “Look-and-say,” with certain good points borrowed from the “Phonic” method. But

¹ *Criticisms on Froebel's System and its Extension*, a paper in the Proceedings of the International Congress at Brussels, 1880, translated and printed by Dr. Henry Barnard in *Kindergarten and Child-culture*.

over and above this introduction to the use of symbols, the child must be constantly exercised in expressing itself orally with regard to what it has seen and heard and imagined — as it must also express itself by means of *graphic representation*, or childish drawing, and by means of songs and games.

What has been said of *words* applies equally to *numbers*. To the transition classes properly belongs the introduction of the use of written symbols or figures — based on some small rudimentary knowledge of linear drawing, or on the drawing in checkers. Let us note the most marked stages in the teaching of number. *First*, there is the observation and manipulation of groups of concrete things (small cubes, sticks, beads, etc.); the analyzing of these into parts or smaller groups; the recomposition of the larger groups; the arranging of the groups in different shapes, etc., — all with a view to discrimination of groups as to number of things in them. And into this work soon enters a mental activity, which consists of mentally picturing the groups associated with the names of the different numbers — number as a generalized abstract notion having so far given no sign of existence. *Secondly*, we have the stage of initial abstraction, and the introduction of symbols — essentially the stage of the transition classes. The idea of number begins to separate itself from the groups of particular concrete things — a process which is much assisted by occasional exercises in which each group consists of mingled materials. The mental pictures are becoming more generalized, and are changing into concepts — a process still further helped by the intro-

duction of figures, and the mental pictures of these. In this stage our work is concrete, mental, and symbolic—with a perpetual interplay of these, and the constant translation of each kind into the other two; or by dividing the children of our classes into groups, the three kinds of work may be simultaneously employed on the same problem. A couple of examples will perhaps make this clearer. In the first place, we must note that numbers come before children, in the gifts and in other matters, as ideas connected with *groups* of things. In the first gift we have six balls, in the third gift eight cubes, and so on. The knowledge to be gained of individual numbers or of their relations to one another should therefore be derived, in the first instance, from the analysis of groups, and not from successive increments of unity. This view is further supported by the fact, which has already been dwelt on, that “the first procedure of the mind in the elaboration of its knowledge is always *analytical*”; the next, *synthetical*; and that thereafter the two processes succeed one another alternately. This will be our guide. We might begin with the six balls of Gift I; but the varieties of color which these display would make the formation of ideas of number needlessly difficult. So we shall begin with the eight cubes of Gift III. Having attracted attention to number by presenting various groups of things, setting them out in patterns and various like plans, we return to our cubes and give the idea “*eight* cubes.” Setting them out, we divide them symmetrically into two groups. This gives the idea “*four* cubes.” From this analysis we get the fact that eight cubes contain

or are equivalent to two sets of four cubes; and synthetically that two sets of four cubes make one set of eight cubes. This we may express symbolically as

$$\text{eight} = \text{two fours, or } 8 = 2 \times 4.$$

$$\text{two fours} = \text{eight, or } 2 \times 4 = 8.$$

From the former we further learn that

$$\text{four} = \text{half of eight, or } 4 = \frac{1}{2} \text{ of } 8.$$

From the latter,

$$\text{half of eight} = \text{four, or } \frac{1}{2} \text{ of } 8 = 4.$$

We might next proceed to the analysis of "four." But as I am not describing complete lessons, but only giving examples of the *kind* of work to be done, I will continue with "eight." Setting out our cubes in sets of two each we get ideas, which may be written symbolically as $8 = 4 \times 2$, and $4 \times 2 = 8$.

From the former we get $2 = \frac{1}{4} \text{ of } 8$.

From the latter $\frac{1}{4} \text{ of } 8 = 2$.

Again moving three of the groups to one side, we next get $2 = 8 - 6$, and $2 + 6 = 8$.

And then further, $6 = 8 - 2$, and $6 + 2 = 8$; and so on.

Later we may proceed to the analysis of "six."

Work such as this — which I have expressed with the utmost brevity, so as to show merely the *general* mode of procedure — is of course done again and again in various lessons, and always consists of results derived directly from observation of the cubes which the children move about and arrange in various symmetrical patterns — the signs \times , $-$, and $+$ being, of course, introduced only in the later stages, and cer-

tainly not at first. It will be noticed that in this plan division and subtraction precede multiplication and addition respectively — which, with Froebel and his followers, I believe to be the right order. And Froebel gives us another hint — let the primary divisions of our groups be symmetrical, that is, let the minor groups into which we divide the whole be *equal*: little children can deal with them more easily than they can with groups that are unequal. Moreover, this work of division leads directly to fractions.¹ Naturally in the higher transition-class there will be a good deal of revision of past work of this kind; and this will be the time for making its informalities formal, and for arranging our knowledge in an orderly, more closely connected, and logical manner; for, as Froebel puts it, number-work as a subject of knowledge is then beginning to assert its own claims to attention.

My other example shall deal with addition. I will suppose I have a class of six little people between the ages of six and seven. They are provided with a number of small cubes (edges about half an inch). Ten of these will just fill each of the small wooden boxes provided; and ten of these boxes will just fill each of the large wooden boxes also provided. Small round objects will not do — they roll about, and moreover suggest marbles and other games, and so distract attention from *number*. Moreover, when put into bags they do not suggest the idea of a *whole* as the cubes do. Sometimes instead of boxes of ten, we have staves equivalent to ten cubes joined end on to one another; and

¹ See also a very suggestive paper, by Hailmann in *Kinder-garten*, July, 1888.

instead of boxes of a hundred, tablets equivalent to ten staves joined side to side. These are very good and handy; but have this drawback — that when units are combined into tens, the actual units themselves are not carried forward, but only their *equivalent* staves; and even so small a matter as this may prove a stumbling-block to a slow little person who is just beginning to observe and reason. Well, now we are ready. We divide the class into three sets of two — one set to look after the cubes, one to write on the blackboard, and the third to calculate mentally. If the boards of the floor give us well-marked columns, so much the better; if not, we must mark three columns. The first set of children place a certain number of cubes and boxes neatly in the marked columns in a horizontal line: say six cubes in the right-hand column, three ten-boxes in the middle, and four hundred-boxes in the left-hand column. The mental workers read off “four hundred and thirty-six”; and the blackboard workers write 436. Another line of figures and of boxes, etc., follows in like manner; then a third line, and then a fourth. Let us suppose these to stand on the blackboard as 129, 375, 208. The children with the cubes read down the right-hand column six, nine, five, eight; the blackboard children have the figures before them; the others work the addition in their heads without looking at either board or cubes, and when ready proclaim the result (checked by the others) — 28. Two ten-boxes are at once filled with the collected cubes and transferred to the top of the ten-box column, the eight cubes over being left at the bottom of the cube column. On the board 8 is written below the unit

column and 2 is written above the ten column. And so the work goes merrily on to the end, when we find that there are as the result eleven hundred-boxes, four ten-boxes, and eight cubes on the floor; and on the board 1148; which all unite in reading as eleven hundred and forty-eight. Next time the children change places, and so change their mode of work. This will, I think, give a good idea of what I mean by the interplay of the concrete, the mental, and the symbolic, which I hold should be the essential characteristic of the transition classes.

Our *third* stage of number-work brings us to the purely mental and symbolic—or only so far concrete that concrete things are spoken of in the problems, and so far ungeneralized that figures are still used as our symbols. In the *fourth* stage we should find ourselves doing what is called *Algebra*, or universal arithmetic, with symbols of universal application. These four stages seem to me to give the right general order of number-study. The methods to be employed are Froebel's. I need scarcely, I hope, remind you that you cannot grade your difficulties by arranging your stages as (1) numbers 1 to 5; (2) numbers 5 to 10; (3) numbers 10 to 20, and so on; which may do very well for arranging tickets at a concert, but is not educational. You must, however, bear in mind that as long as the mental work is the picturing of groups of particular concrete things, you cannot employ large numbers. There is a decided limit for all of us in our power to mentally picture groups; and I very much doubt whether children of seven years can ever mentally picture groups of more than ten things, or even of so many.

If we bear in mind that in the transition classes there is to be a general move in the direction of instruction, and towards ideas slightly generalized, we shall, I think, find the gifts of the kindergarten still amply sufficient for our exercises in *form* and *dimension*. I do not think there is any necessity to employ the box of fourteen solids which Froebel sent with his letter to Emma Bothmann; partly because they are specially designed as an introduction to crystallography, which we do not teach in our schools, and partly because there is work to be done with the gifts we already possess, which must not by any means be omitted, viz. the exercises preparatory to practical plane geometry. These, as you know, consist in drawing attention, by means of experiment, to the properties and to the relations to one another, of areas, of angles, and of lines—properties and relations which will become generalized later into the conceptions of pure theoretical geometry. I need only remind you of the valuable assistance which is given in this work by the geometrical paper-folding of Koehler. Froebel's own advice on paper-folding in the volume referred to above, and his exercises in paper-cutting which have lately been translated and enlarged by Fräulein Heerwart.

The *Occupations* which most distinctively belong to the transition classes are *drawing*, *painting*, *paper-folding* and *cutting*, *modelling* in plastic clay, and *card-board* work; and I should like to add the extension of Gift VII, which I have recommended as affording good exercises in color. Froebel has three plans for *drawing*—work in checkers, imitation with the pen-

ceil of the ring and stick designs, and free drawing in connection with nature-study, with which last painting is also connected. The checker-work belongs more particularly to the last year of the kindergarten and the first of the transition classes; the other two kinds of drawing mainly to the transition period and the earlier years at school. In both these, as in the kindergarten, free drawing or "graphic representation" gives the teacher one of the most powerful means of communicating ideas, and affords the child not only a valuable exercise in expression, but also a strong stimulus to attentive observation. The *painting*, or rather the color-work with brush or chalk, should be done, I think, if not always, at any rate frequently, without any previously marked outlines. The *modelling*, besides dealing with geometrical forms, should deal largely with forms of life (animals, fruit, etc.), and forms of industry (boxes, cups, birds' nests, etc.) —much more largely than is usually the case.

In the *Education of Man* Froebel deals fully and admirably with the subject of *Nature-Study*, or the observation of plants and animals and the external world in general. Two sections (§§ 75, 91) are especially devoted to the exposition of his views; and in many others we are given hints and side-lights which are not a little valuable. Intercourse with plants and animals, and an interest in their external characteristics and habits, form, as we remember, one of the most valuable parts of the kindergarten activity. In the kindergarten they are encouraged and promoted, not for the sake of the knowledge to be gained from them, but mainly for the sake of the ethical effect

which they produce on the children. A somewhat more formal study of nature should begin in the transition classes and stretch onwards through the school itself, becoming slowly, as has been indicated, more formal and more scientific; and so we shall find that Froebel has a great deal to tell us about it in his letter to Emma Bothmann, to which we shall return presently. In the earlier of the sections just referred to Froebel says: "Let not the teacher or parent object that he himself is as yet ignorant of this" (the knowledge of nature and of natural law, the educational value of which has just been urged). "The question here is by no means the communication of knowledge already possessed, but the calling forth of new knowledge. Let teachers observe, lead their pupils to observe, and render themselves and their pupils conscious of their observations. An apprehension of the prevailing conformity of the laws in nature, and of the unity of these laws, does not require special technical terms for the objects or their attributes, but distinct and accurate observation and precise designation of these things in accordance with the character of language and of the thing named. In rendering the boy familiar with natural objects we are by no means concerned with the teaching of names nor of preconceived views and opinions, but only with presenting the things themselves with their obvious attributes, in such a way that the boy may view each object as the precise individual object it makes itself known to be by its form," etc. Elsewhere (§ 64) he observes that boys may "spend all their time in fields and forests, and see and feel nothing of the beauties

of nature, and of their influence on the human heart." Our business is to give them the *seeing* eye and to stimulate them to the necessary curiosity and interest. The boy should begin with his natural surroundings; be helped to follow out the knowledge these give him along the many branching paths which they suggest and indicate;¹ and be led to see how much we learn of the nature of a thing by the study of its ordinary environment. So, whenever possible, plants and animals are to be studied *living* — with their natural surroundings and in their habitual localities. There is no need to rigidly exclude all that lies outside the boy's own particular circle. If chance introduces such a thing to the boy's notice we must seek to connect it with what is familiar and near to him. But we shall generally have quite enough to do without seeking after what is strange and foreign — though what comes from a distance also helps us by widening our horizon, giving us a consciousness of things even beyond this horizon, and by bringing home to us once more the interdependence and connectedness of mankind. Boys are not fitted to begin and continue all this without assistance; and the best assistance will be the sympathy and enthusiasm of a teacher who feels himself to be a fellow-discoverer with his pupils. Learned men are not wanted at this stage — except indeed such as can readily become once again as little children, and humbly once more enter with them the kingdom of knowledge.

¹ Section 91 of the *Education of Man* gives a very minute and interesting description of how the boy's every day environment may lead him on into the great world.

Some small beginning of classification may be made in the higher transition classes; but it need not necessarily, Froebel thinks, be the classification adopted by science. It should be based at first on what first attracts the attention of children; what they see with the natural eye will be quite sufficient. In the same way the names employed may be local, or long descriptive names, or the inventions of the children, if it pleases them to invent names; and these (both names and classes) should later be gradually brought into harmony with the terms and classes used by science, so that the knowledge acquired may be brought into harmony with the common knowledge, and made clear and complete by means of it. The great thing is to learn to see the orderly, law-abiding energy of Nature, to be interested in her workings, to listen to her many voices, to consider her ways and learn her doings, that thereby we may enter the Kingdom of Heaven which is on earth—that Eden in which the tree of knowledge is no longer forbidden, but from which, alas! we can still so easily be driven forth. Froebel connects the natural sciences, and especially botany, with this observation and contemplation of the external world in ever-widening circles of knowledge. “With botany,” he says, in the letter to his student, “is connected, in a perfectly organic and living way, the knowledge of the surface of the earth; for many plants are companions of the water, and grow on the border of brook and river, and give beauty to the springs of both; many plants prefer to deck the turf of the meadow and valley, and many love the clear, fresh, balmy air of hill or mountain top, many the

neighborhood of man, and many the deep recesses of the woodland; many the ocean ships bring us from distant parts of the world . . . to the home-place of each one of us, to the garden, and even into our very dwelling and room. Thus are plants excellent guides and incentives to a knowledge of the earth's surface."

"And," he adds, "to the contemplation of the external world, and especially to that of the plant-world, the cultivation of the sense of color and form, which is the introduction to drawing and painting, is closely attached. So important to the child in the intermediate school is the study of the growth of plants, and above all of trees."

As the gifts—or some of them—gradually drop into the background, nature-study should more and more take its place as the leading object; till in the school proper it becomes that which reconciles everything and unites the growing curriculum into one organic whole. Some of the occupations, too, are now gradually discontinued; and the rest take on more and more the form of preparation for industrial training which may follow hereafter, and are drawn into closer union with the knowledge of nature. This is to be at first an informal knowledge—growing, but only very gradually, more and more precise—a knowledge of plants and animals, of their external characteristics and habits, their localities, their uses to man, and so on—including man himself after a while. From this also, as from what has gone before, should develop simply, naturally, and connectedly the study of form, of color, of language, of number, of life, of material, beginning with the personally familiar, and proceeding to what

is not so familiar but still somewhat like, and so onward; and diligently maintaining the mutual connectedness of everything at every opportunity. It does not require any great effort of the imagination to see how the whole school curriculum gradually emerges from all this: drawing — graphic representation first, and later on, art — from the forms of leaves and flowers and animals; language, spoken, written, and sung, from the talks and stories about plants and animals and localities, with literature to follow later; geography from much the same sources, and from consideration of the effects of plants and animals (including man) on localities, and the effects of localities on them; history, in an informal state, following close on its steps; natural science, from almost everything, and particularly from the consideration of the effects on plants of the earth in which they grow, and of their need of water, air, and light; geometry from the consideration of form and measurements and number; arithmetic, and that universal arithmetic which we call algebra, from the same sources, and from observing the physical characteristics of plants and animals. Nor need I omit physiology and the knowledge of some of those simpler conditions on which health and wise living depend. I am far from contending that these subjects should be *solely* developed from this source, or even that in the cases of many nature-study can ever be their *chief* source. My aim is rather to show the power nature-study has of connecting and keeping connected all that the school teaches; its power of adding a living, growing interest to what is taught; and how, as a matter of fact, it does in several

cases give the best point of departure, indicate the best route to follow, and does itself supply most of the knowledge needed. Nor will its prominence in the school be wholly without value if it does no more than render some of the work done there a little less bookish.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEARING OF FROEBEL'S PRINCIPLES ON THE SCHOOL AND ON TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION—MAN- UAL TRAINING—FROEBEL AND PESTALOZZI—CON- CLUSION

IN the concluding passage of the *Education of Man*, after ably summing up the results which would be produced in the first period of school life by the practice of his methods, Froebel adds: "Thus we find the human being even in the earlier stages of boyhood fitted for the highest and most important business of life—the fulfilment of his destiny and vocation, which is the representation (or outer active manifestation) of the divine nature within him. To lead this capability forward to the acquirement of skill and certainty, to lift it into full consciousness, to give it insight and clearness, and to exalt it into a life of creative freedom by fitting stages of development and cultivation, is the business of the years which are now to follow. To demonstrating the ways and means for this, and to bringing them into the actual practice of life, a continuation of this treatise will be devoted, as will also the author's own life." Unfortunately, though Froebel sketched many school plans, and gave many lectures, and wrote many articles on the more advanced periods of education, he never gave us any formal continua-

tion of the *Education of Man*.¹ The task of inventing and developing the practice of the kindergarten, the training of kindergarten teachers, and the incessant calls upon him for the exposition of his views, left him too little time for this. He had set forth his ideas, his principles, and his plans mainly in connection with the earliest periods of life; and as the next step it seemed wisest to him to show these principles and plans practically at work, and to endeavor to produce the results in these periods which he had asserted would be produced. For the rest, he could point to the Institutes at Keilhau, at Willisau, Burgdorf, and elsewhere for evidence of the results which the new education could produce in the middle and later periods of school life, due allowance being of course made for the particular circumstances of each case. But though he could point to these results, the fact that he occupied himself — as did many of his immediate friends and disciples — mainly with the education of children under eight years of age, has led the public, and even the majority of teachers, to imagine that his principles apply solely to that earliest period — to that period and to no other. That the practice and subject-matter of the school must differ markedly in *character*, though not necessarily in *kind*, from those of the kindergarten, no one has pointed out more forcibly than Froebel himself. That the particular plans best fitted

¹ The title-page of the first edition of the *Education of Man* tells us that the treatise is an exposition of "the art of education, instruction, and training aimed at in the Universal German Educational Institute at Keilhau"; and on it is also the statement, "First Volume: To the beginning of boyhood."

for little children cannot also be best fitted for big children he saw probably more clearly than any other teacher ever did; while he was quite convinced that during the middle and later periods of school life the acquisition of knowledge must be a matter of very great importance, though not the *only* important matter. To such an extent did he feel and believe this that it was for the express purpose of rendering that acquisition as sound, as easy, and as effective as possible, that he devoted himself with such zeal and care to the study of all that should come before it and be preparatory to it. All this is so; and there could not be a greater mistake than to imagine that either Froebel or his disciples have ever allowed that his *principles* cease to apply as soon as the child emerges from infancy. To hold such a view is, in fact, to condemn those principles for the period of infancy itself. All-sided connectedness and unbroken continuity of succession are fundamental ideas in Froebel's system. Of course the way in which a principle is applied must vary continually as the child changes and grows; and the material introduced and made use of must also vary. But the principle itself must remain the same throughout. If it be true for one period it is true for all.

The main principles, it will be remembered, whose applications form Froebel's system, are: *self-activity*, to produce development; all-sided *connectedness* and unbroken *continuity*, to help the right acquisition of knowledge; *creativeness*, or expressive activity, to produce assimilation of knowledge, growth of power, and acquisition of skill; well-ordered *physical activity*, to

develop the physical body and its powers; and *happy and harmonious surroundings*, to foster and help all these. If a school, therefore, includes amongst its aims the true acquisition of knowledge—as distinct from the more or less temporary possession of information—and with this the development of power and the production of skill—and most schools at least profess to do so—it follows at once that the school must look to these same principles for continued guidance and help, unless it denies their efficacy altogether, or holds that the life of a human being is a series of discontinuous separate existences, the natural laws of which differ for each successive existence. Some changes the school must introduce; but they should not consist in the abandonment of the educational ideas which have hitherto guided and helped the pupil's life and development. What is to be changed is the *application* of these ideas; and this application, as Froebel tells us, is to move forward "in fitting stages of development and cultivation," always keeping harmoniously in touch with the growth and knowledge of the pupil. It argues, therefore, an absolute misunderstanding of the whole matter to callously and indifferently admit that Froebel's ideas are true enough for the kindergarten, and at the same time to deny that they have anything to do with the school.

To some extent, though only indirectly and unconsciously (and therefore inadequately), the principles which this book has been written to expound have succeeded in effecting an entrance into some of our schools,—mainly those for girls and for the working classes. But before dealing with these we must

first notice certain plans which are connected in the public mind with the application of these principles. Plans for *Industrial* or *Trade Schools*, if not the schools themselves, are of considerable antiquity; but it is seldom that they contain any really educational idea. Their object is philanthropic; they seek to give a poor boy a trade; and in a measure they represent a distaste for over-much bookishness. By far the most interesting, and in many ways the best, of the plans proposed in England was that by Sir William Petty in 1647. He addressed it to "His honored friend, Master Samuel Hartlib," to whom he probably owed many of his ideas, as he owed not a little to their common friend, the good Moravian bishop Comenius, the father of modern pedagogy. He proposed "that there be instituted *Ergastula Literaria*, literary work-houses, where children may be taught as well to do something towards their living as to read and write." Poor children are to be taught to support themselves as far as their strength and understanding will permit; "and if they cannot get their whole living, and their parents can contribute nothing at all to make it up, let them stay somewhat the longer in the work-house." This is precisely the same in character as Pestalozzi's earlier plans; and as far as the use of manual work is concerned, has little in it that is educational,—though Sir William adds many excellent observations, partly his own and partly adaptations from Comenius, on child-nature and the value of educational realism. More than one plan we owe to Hartlib himself — whom Milton called "one sent hither by some good providence from a far coun-

try (Poland) to be the occasion and the excitement of great good to this island." One of these would, in 1641, have given us something like a Technical University for London, constructed on lines laid down by Comenius; another plan is entitled "Propositions for erecting a College of Husbandry," and was printed in London in 1651. The object was "the good of the Common-wealth and the relief of the poor therein." The main proposition was "that there may be a College or School of all sorts and parts of good Husbandry erected; that so the knowledge and practice may become more universal, and men may have more sweet invitations and stronger allurements to seek the knowledge of this deep and excellent mystery; and practice it to the advancement of a more general and public good — not as now in a sordid, clownish way for mere self-profit; nor as now according to unsound and rather customary than rational rules and grounds; nor as now in a dishonorable and drudging way." But once more, admirable as the proposition is, it is the philanthropist and wise agriculturist who puts it forth rather than the educator. But no matter what old plans there may have been, there is no doubt at all that the rapid spread of Trade or Industrial Schools throughout Europe and the United States during the early and middle years of this century was due to Pestalozzi and the views which he preached. Here are the poor, he said, everywhere in great distress and wretchedness, and everywhere a constant source of danger. You sometimes punish them severely, even savagely; sometimes you pauperize them with sentimental, irresponsible almsgiving. Neither plan will succeed. You

treat the symptom, and not the disease itself. You must make the destitute able to support themselves; and, as far as you can, you must make them intelligent and self-respecting. This is the purport of most of what he wrote before 1787, and in particular in the *Evenings of a Hermit*. Excellent advice it is and profoundly true, and great has been the good which has resulted from it; but the thought is the thought of the philanthropist and social reformer rather than that of the educational philosopher. Educational philosopher in any true sense Pestalozzi never was—beautiful-hearted and noble, and marvellously suggestive, but not a philosopher; and though through the varied experience of his long life and the help of his philosopher friends he eventually to some extent acquired a scientific method of thought in his system, to the end manual work remained with him rather a preparation for industry than a means of education.

Still later than the rise of Industrial Schools has come the widespread adoption of Technical Instruction—due plainly enough to the rapid growth of scientific knowledge, and to the steadily increasing conviction that work not based on some knowledge of general principles and how they should be applied to particular cases must always remain narrow and more or less unintelligent. The aim of Technical Instruction is to attain to skilled work by the right application of the right knowledge—the converse, and yet the natural sequence for an adult, of the kindergarten plan, which helps the child to attain to true knowledge by the right application of the right work. The former plan is best in the main for the adult, the

latter for the little child; and yet all through life the two plans must constantly alternate with one another and be mutually helpful—true knowledge must produce sound work, and true work must produce sound knowledge; and the best preparation for the technical instruction of the adult must be the kindergarten education of the child. We cannot say, however, that either the Industrial School or Technical Instruction is *historically* the outcome of Froebel's teaching. Nevertheless, to be rendered thoroughly efficient, Industrial Schools will have to be reformed on Froebelian lines; and Technical Instruction will find its greatest gain in realizing that the kindergarten is its own natural first stage.

Much as Froebel and Pestalozzi resemble one another, and much as the former owes to the latter, there are nevertheless some contrasts between the two which seem to me instructive (especially at this point), and which help us to understand why Industrial Schools, which are largely Pestalozzian, have not produced results quite as excellent as they were expected to do. The first thing, of course, which strikes one forcibly is that Pestalozzi, trusting to sympathy and the inspiration of the moment, plunges straight into practice and leaves general principles to take care of themselves, or at any rate to come afterwards; so that his general principles are the explanations (not always by himself) of what he found fairly successful in practice, rather than his practice the application of general principles. Froebel is always seeking to arrive at sound general principles from the results of his observation and experience, and to make his educational method the

application of these principles. Pestalozzi's effectiveness lies chiefly in helping the intellect to acquire in boyhood a knowledge of the particular and the concrete. Froebel adopts Pestalozzi's plan and goes further, showing great effectiveness in training the sensations and emotions to a right activity,—and that from the earliest infancy,—and making this training the preparation for later knowledge and religion. Broadly speaking, Pestalozzi's plan is one of observing and *imitating*; Froebel's, one of observing and *inventing*. To exercise the *creative*, originating powers of the child is Froebel's main object; to teach the child to speak and to do work already prescribed is largely the aim of Pestalozzi. Froebel's plan, therefore, more directly tends to develop independence and originality of character. And lastly — to give one more contrast — Pestalozzi often tried to give manual work and instruction at the same time; Froebel made manual work and physical activity in general the *means* of education. I am not, of course, attempting to give a full estimate of the value, direct and indirect, of the plans and general ideas set forth by Pestalozzi and his colleagues. But I note that Pestalozzian methods, pure and simple, are steadily receding into the background, while those of them which Froebel adopted and reformed, and those methods which he himself originated, are steadily and surely winning public confidence;¹ and I believe that the contrasts I have marked in a great measure explain

¹ The number of candidates who entered for the certificate examinations of the National Froebel Union of England in 1887, '88, '89, '90, '91, and '92 respectively were 75, 138, 169, 231, 261, and 305; while early in 1892 the certificates were recognized by the Education Department of England as qualifying teachers for work in Infant Schools.

the reason for this. Besides, with Technical Instruction spreading so rapidly amongst us, it seems to me high time for the public to cease to confuse the methods of these two reformers, especially as regards the educational uses of manual work.

We cannot claim, then, for Froebel any share in the introduction of Trade and Industrial Schools; and his views have only indirectly promoted the idea of Technical Instruction. Other forces, I think, have been more powerful than kindergarten principles in compelling the public to attend to this last matter; though we do claim for Froebel's system that it is the indispensable preliminary to all sound scientific and technical training. But on the other hand, we distinctly assert that Manual Training and in particular sloyd, which have been making such marked progress on both sides of the Atlantic of late, are direct and undeniable outcomes of Froebel's views; and that unless they are dealt with on Froebelian principles, they are certain to be little better than waste of time. The term "manual training" is not a very happy one; for though the hand is the chief instrument we employ, and though the aim is partly to make hand-work aid the pupil in his acquisition and assimilation of knowledge, we nevertheless endeavor to train much more than the hand. The term should be taken to mean training *through the use of the hand*, or exercise in expressing the mind by means of the concrete; and the New Jersey Council of Education summed up the matter excellently when (in 1889) it stated that "Manual training is training in thought-expression by other means than gesture and verbal language, in such a

carefully graded course of study as shall also provide adequate training for the judgment and the executive faculty." Stated in this way, it will be seen that manual training is a direct outcome of the kindergarten exercises, and is in fact the necessary intermediate stage between those exercises and technical instruction; though it need not advance as far as that instruction. As a further development of part of the kindergarten activity and creativeness, it has its place as a necessary part of general education, and should be treated as such; otherwise it has no right to be in the school at all. If technical instruction is to follow — not unless — a gradual movement in the direction of specialization may be made in the later school stages; but this should not proceed to the extent of isolating the manual exercises. The nature of the change is easy enough to see. The aim of the school, besides the production of knowledge and of skill in the use of knowledge, should be the production of the power to think. We produce the power to think by thinking; and one of the chief means which we employ for this is the *expressing* of thought. Manual training will begin in this way, as hand-work for the sake of head-work, which will gradually tend to become head-work for the sake of hand-work — in other words, knowledge will be more and more brought in and applied for the sake of skilled results, and accuracy will be more and more insisted upon; while all through we shall carefully abstain from trying to force into the manual work what the thought itself, of which it is the expression, does not possess. For instance, we shall not *begin* with a pedantic and tiresome insistence on accuracy (which is not a

characteristic of the young mind), but endeavor steadily to lead up to it—to *grow* it—producing at the same time an ever-increasing appreciation of its value.

I have dwelt only on the intrinsic thought-connection between manual training and the kindergarten; but the *historical* connection is quite as evident and is extremely interesting. I can only touch upon it here; and I will restrict myself to that particular kind of hand-work which uses wood as its material and is called “sloyd,” for this is the form under which the movement has spread most rapidly in England in our High Schools for Girls. In 1829 Froebel had recently won the favor of the Duke of Meiningen, and his hopes were high of being able at last to carry out on an adequate scale some of his most distinctive plans for general education. He wrote at the duke's request a description of the kind of institution he proposed to establish at Helba near Meiningen; and the description has been preserved.¹ The training and instruction were to rest on the foundation from which proceed all genuine knowledge and all genuine practical attainments; that is, “on life itself and on creative effort, and on the union and interdependence of *doing* and *thinking*, *representing* and *perceiving*, *skill* and *science*.” It will base its work on “the pupil's self-activity and self-expression,” and make these the bases of knowledge and culture. The morning is to be devoted to the ordinary school subjects; the afternoon to various kinds of manual work. I

¹ See *Froebel's Collected Works*, vol. i, pp. 399-417. *Die projectirte Volkserziehungsanstalt zu Helba.*

cannot attempt to give the long and full list of occupations here; suffice it is to say that it covers, and more than covers, the ground now usually marked out by institutions of this kind. Froebel's hopes were disappointed. He never had the chance of carrying out this plan. But the description remained, and with his other tracts and articles, gained the attention of educational thinkers in more than one place. Amongst others it attracted Uno Cygnæus, the "Father of the Primary School in Finland." In 1866 Cygnæus introduced sloyd as a compulsory part of education into the schools of his country. The success of the movement in Finland stimulated Sweden, Denmark, and Austria-Hungary to like efforts. From Sweden, where it was greatly improved by Herr Salomon, the system has passed over to England. And indeed in a measure all Europe now recognizes it, the spread of kindergarten ideas having prepared the way for it in more than one country. I cannot do better than quote an extract from a letter written by Cygnæus to Dr. Wichard Lange which tells how he came to adopt the system.¹ "The idea of the introduction of hand-work [sloyd]," he says, "came to me from the study of the writings of Pestalozzi and Froebel: I have, therefore, derived it from Germany." He goes on to remark on the value of Pestalozzi's intuitive teaching, and how through its lack of true scientific method it has fallen into ill repute, having become so often no better than empty chatter. "Then came Froebel, who urged that

¹ I quote from an interesting article on Cygnæus by Mr. J. S. Thornton in *The Journal of Education*, Sept. 1890. Mr. Thornton quotes the above from the *Rheinische Blätter* for 1882.

the child must not only practise intuition, and express the representation which he has thus received, but should also learn to carry out in play, and in smaller pieces of hand-work, what he has grasped—should as a productive being be educated from the beginning to self-activity and productive energy—should thus be educated through work for work. . . . In this way I was led to the thought that we must introduce into the school not only Froebel's gifts and the rest of the exercises in work recommended by him, but also establish for elder children such kinds of hand-work as have for their aim the training of the hand, the development of the sense of form, and of the æsthetic feeling, and which help young men to a general practical dexterity, which shall be useful in every walk of life. . . . But all these kinds of work must not be conducted like trades, but always with reference to the aim of general education and as a means of culture." Thus wrote the founder of the sloyd system in Finland. But after all, sloyd and other modes of manual training are but a part of the reform which is needed before our schools become in any true sense Froebelian. There must be more self-activity, more creativeness, and that of greater variety, more connectedness between the subjects of instruction, less imitation and repetition and more thinking. But unless I have wholly failed in the foregoing chapters to express my meaning, the general characteristics of the reform which I would urge must be quite evident; and into details I cannot enter now. I must draw my forces together and conclude.

True freedom, according to Froebel, depends on perfect development; and development is only another name for progress according to law. True freedom is therefore an active fulfilment of the purpose of our existence in conscious and willing submission to law—the law of our life as individuals, and as members of society; not a narrow, specialized law, but a broad, human, natural law. The large amount of political liberty which is common at the present day, can only be beneficial to the nation and to individuals, on condition that the individual is intelligent and law-abiding, and capable of self-direction for the good of himself and his fellows. He must be in some measure conscious of his own vocation and of that of humanity; and must have learnt the necessity and advantage of submission to, and fulfilment of, law. The misuse of political liberty, which in some quarters has not been unfrequent of late years, arises from ignorance of all this, from ill-proportioned development, and ill-directed powers. Children have too little education in true liberty. They are too often the playthings of their parents, or are merely a burden. They must either be indulged in every way, or suffer unmerited neglect. They seldom learn even the wisdom and the necessity of submission to *natural* law—and no mere “citizen” readers or primers of biology are of any great avail. Citizenship—the flower and fruit of manhood—is a growth produced by exercise, not something learnt in a book, or presented in a gilt casket. Of all this Froebel shows an ever-present consciousness, from the earliest stages of his method; and experience has shown that this method is on the whole well fitted to produce the

result at which he aimed. Education, in his eyes, is emancipation — emancipation of the inner self from the tyranny of lawlessness and confusion. As the Baroness von Marenholtz Bülow, his ablest disciple, points out, it demands freedom for development; it uses work for development; and its guiding spirit should be unity and harmony of development. On the perfection of the individual depends the perfection of the state; and he cultivates and fosters individuality and originality most wisely and well. Happiness is the condition most favorable to the growth of morality and brotherly-kindness. Nothing is so fruitful and frequent a cause of unhappiness as ignorance of, and futile opposition to, the laws of nature and of life. Froebel trains the child from the first to a recognition and appreciation of these laws. Moreover he holds — and rightly holds — that not only in childhood, but all through life, a free, healthy exercise of powers and feelings in a manner which accords with their nature and their strength, is a never-failing source of true delight and moral (and political) purity and growth. And this activity he provides for and promotes. He gives to common human work its true dignity by showing it to be, and by *using it as*, the means for spiritual and physical progress. It is no longer limited to mere bread-getting and material ease; but becomes, as the instrument and means of development, as the outward and visible product of human love, an important and necessary part of the fulfilment of man's divinely ordered destiny. Work connected, consecutive, and productive, it will be remembered, is the very foundation of Froebel's system; and the chief aim of the *Mutter- und Kose-*

lieder is to show the value, the necessity, and, if I may so speak, the *divine* nature of work — which is not man's curse, but his blessing and his privilege. Moreover, by his spiritualizing of nature and natural processes — which, as I have shown, reminds us continually of Wordsworth's teaching — he seeks to correct and change the view that self-preservation and worldly gain and prosperity are the highest aims for man. And if such a change is ever to be effected, if but greater honesty and more straightforwardness are ever to be infused into trade, business, and politics, it can only be done by, in some way or other, spiritualizing and ennobling all necessary human work ; and by showing that the ordinary every-day processes of human occupation are capable, if rightly directed, of producing that continuous development which it is man's highest duty to promote and to fulfil. And this Froebel claims to have shown, and to be able to do. Religion in his teaching — in which he follows the pure, simple view of the Gospels — is brotherly-kindness growing up into love of God — living, moving, and having its being in the practice of love. It is a growing into union with humanity and with God, by a willing, conscious endeavor to *live out* on earth God's great purpose in humanity — a purpose which more than once has been made to seem narrow and unattractive, but which, as Froebel expounds it, is again worthy of man, of man's Creator. This growth, too, Froebel's plan is well fitted to produce. And if it be — as sometimes it would seem to be — the destiny of nations to grow more and more into unity and homogeneousness within themselves,

and of mankind, as a whole, to become essentially one, even as its divine cause is one — there is no better method to prepare for and to promote that end than the method employed by Froebel. And we should bear in mind that, while fostering and cultivating a wide feeling of human fellowship, continually by it and for it he teaches us the truest wisdom — intelligent submission to the true conditions of life; and that best human virtue, cheerfully to do without what we may be justified in wishing for, and cheerfully to bear what is unpleasant, for the good of others; and this in no indolent and merely Stoic spirit, but as the honorable duty of a vigorous and ever-striving manhood.

He pleads for the unification of thought and the unification of life by means of the unification of the materials of thought and the unification of the preparation for life; and bases his plea on the psychological necessity of such a change in the means if we are ever to attain to such a result in the end; and on the interest, novelty, and intelligibility which a true all-sided connectedness alone can give to our work, and gives unceasingly. He bids us bend all our energies to attuning all the subjects, the instruments of knowledge, and all the varied activities of our nature, so as to bring out the full orchestral harmony of thought and life. And what is the ideal which he sets before us towards which we should strive? It is the production in a human being of qualities which all of us acknowledge to be best. He aims at producing in a human being clearness, quickness, and soundness of observation; a mind capable of retaining and readily

recalling what it has learnt, with power to combine and use what it knows, and to imagine and deal with what is new ; able to grasp the general ideas and principles which underlie particular cases ; rapid and sagacious in drawing inferences, sound and wise in reasoning ; full of interest and pride in its work, moved by a sense of what is good and true and beautiful ; energetic, honest, strong in purpose, full of kindness. This may seem to some an ideal too lofty for a work-a-day life ; but the degree in which we draw near to it will be, I am certain, the only true measure of our success.

APPENDIX A

FROEBEL'S WRITINGS

The following is the list of Froebel's writings as they appear in Dr. Wichard Lange's *Friedrich Fröbel's gesammelte pädagogische Schriften*, in three volumes octavo, published at Berlin by Enslin in 1861 and 1862:—

Vol. i.: *Autobiographical Letters*: (a) to the Duke of Meiningen, 1827; (b) to C. Ch. Fr. Krause, 1828. (Both translated in the *American Journal of Education*, and by E. Michaelis and H. K. Moore.)

F. Froebel on H. Pestalozzi: letter to the princess-regent of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. Yverdun, 1809. (Translated in *American Journal of Education*.)

To our German People. (Written at Keilhau, 1820.)

Principles, Aim, and Inner Life of the Universal German Educational Institute at Keilhau (1821).

Aphorisms. (Written down in 1821; with a preface by Lange.)

Concerning the Universal German Educational Institute at Keilhau (1822).

On German Education in general, and on the German character of the Institute at Keilhau in particular (1822).

Report continued on the Universal German Educational Institute at Keilhau (with a plan of study for the year 1823-24)

Christmas Festivals at the Institute in Keilhau, 1816-24. (By Middendorff, with an epilogue by Froebel, written in the last years of his life.)

Announcement concerning the People's Educational Institute at Helba near Meiningen. (Keilhau, 1829.)

At the grave of Wilhelm Carl. (Keilhau, 1830.)

Announcement of the Institute at Warlensee (1831).

Fundamental Principles of the Education of Man (1830), with a plan of study for the Institute at Willisau (1833).

Plan for an Educational Institute for the Poor, for the Canton of Bern. (Willisau, 1833.)

Plan of the elementary school and announcement of the Educational Institution for the orphanage at Burgdorf. (Burgdorf, 1836.)

Appendix: *Letter to Christoph Froebel.* (Frankfurt, 1807.)

Vol. ii.: *The Education of Man.* (Keilhau, 1826.) Translated by Miss J. Jarvis, 1885; Lovell & Co., New York. Also by Mr. W. N. Hailmann, 1887; D. Appleton & Co., New York. (Mr. Hailmann's translation is abridged and somewhat free, but is abundantly supplied with excellent notes.)

Appendix: Essays of the year 1826:—

(a) *Of the being and destiny of man and of the possibility of realizing this destiny in life.* (b) *Betrothal.* (c) *Plays for boys and boyhood, and church and children's festivals.* (d) *A walk in the middle of January, and children sliding on the ice.* (e) *The little child, or the significance of the earliest childish activity.* (f) *From child-life.* (g) *The knowledge of forms and figures, and its higher significance and indication.* (h) *Instruction in earth-knowledge, with a map of the Schala district, in which Keilhau is situated.*

The new year 1836 demands the renewing of life. (Burgdorf, 1836.)

Vol. iii.: *The Pedagogy of the Kindergarten.* (A series of essays, most of which appeared in the journal *Come, let us live with our children* (1837-40), and most of which deal with the games, gifts, or occupations of the kindergarten. They form our most valuable original authority for kindergarten methods and practice.)

The double glance. A new year's meditation.

Plan of an institution for fostering the impulse to creative activity.

Child-life. The first activity of a child.

The Ball, the First plaything of childhood.

The grain of seed and the child: a comparison.

Play and the playing of the child.

The Sphere and the Cube as the Second play-gift for the child.

First survey of games; or the means for fostering children's need of occupation.

The Third game and cradle-songs.

The Fourth game of the child.

The Second survey of games.

The Fifth Gift.

Movement games.

Exposition given in the presence of Her Majesty the Queen of Saxony at Dresden, January 7, 1839.

Friedrich Froebel, his principles, his aim, and his means of education in their relations to the needs and aspirations of the time, expounded by himself.

The children's gardens in the kindergarten.

How Lina learns to read and write.

Spirit of the developing-educating human culture.

The child's love of Drawing.

Child-occupation: directions for Paper-folding.

Stick-laying (unfinished).

The 28th of June, 1840 (the Gutenberg fête and the inauguration of the first kindergarten).

Plan for the founding of a kindergarten for the year 1840, and report upon the expenses for the year 1843.

Appeal for the establishment of societies for education, with the statutes of such a society. (Keilhau, 1845.)

Plan of the training school for kindergarten nurses and teachers. (Keilhau, 1847.)

The intermediate school. (Marienthal, May, 1852.)

Speech made at the opening of the first municipal kindergarten in Hamburg (1850).

The festival of games at Altenstein (1850).

A complete written description of the means used for the employments of the kindergarten. (Unfinished; written towards the end of Froebel's life.)

Under the title of *Die Fröbelliteratur*, Herr Louis Walter, a teacher in Dresden, issued in 1881 (published by Alwin Huhle at Dresden) a pamphlet of 197 pages devoted to the publications which Froebel's system had called forth in elucidation, attack, or defence since Froebel issued the *Sonntagsblatt* in 1838. It is fairly, but not altogether, complete as far as it goes; but it is already eleven years old. In most cases a brief notice of the contents is added to the title of the work mentioned. Herr Walter adds the following writings of Froebel's to the above:—

Thorough and satisfactory education for the deteriorating German character, the foundation and springhead needed for the German people. (1821.)

The Family Journal of Education. A weekly journal for the education of self and others. (Keilhau, 1826.)

Come, let us live with our children. A Sunday paper for like-thinkers. (1838-40.)

A large box of play and occupation for childhood and youth. Gifts 1-5.

Froebel's personally efficient work in Dresden and Leipzig, 1839; described by himself in fourteen letters to his first wife, and published by Dr. Lange in Nos. 2, 3, and 4 of the *Rheinische Blätter*. 1878. (A translation of these letters is appended to Miss Shirreff's *Short Life of Froebel*, published by Chapman & Hall.)

Froebel's Weekly Journal. A publication to serve as a link between all friends of human education. 1850. Edited by Dr. Lange at Hamburg.

Mutter- und Kose-lieder (Songs for Mother and Nursery); for the generous fostering of child-life. A family book. Music by Robert Kohl, 1843. (Published for Dr. Lange by Enslin, of Berlin, 1866, 1874, 1878. Translated by Miss Dwight and Miss J. Jarvis, with introduction by Miss E. Peabody; Lee & Shepard, Boston. Also by Frances and Emily Lord; William Rice, London, 1885 and 1888.)

A Hundred Ball-songs for the games used in the Kindergarten at Blankenburg, 1843. (Music by Robert Kohl.)

A Journal for Friedrich Froebel's educational aims. Published by Froebel and his friends. Edited by Director Marquart in Dresden, 1851-52. Six numbers.

Froebel's letter to Kern, the teacher of the deaf and dumb in Eisenach, 1840.

Letters of Froebel's to the Rev. Dr. Felsberg, in Sonneberg, near Gotha.

To the above must be added:—

Froebel's letters on the Kindergarten, 1838-52. Edited by Hermann Poesche and published in 1887; translated by E. Michaelis and H. K. Moore; Sonnenschein & Co., London. (Forty-one letters and four addresses to the women of Germany.)

APPENDIX B

SOME BOOKS ON FROEBEL LIKELY TO BE OF USE TO STUDENTS

As this list is intended for the ordinary, not the advanced, student, I have inserted only very few German books unless they have been translated.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS, ETC.

Geschichte der Pädagogik. Karl Schmidt. 4 vols. (Köthen. Schettler.)

Encyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens. K. A. Schmid. 11 vols. (Gotha, Besser.)

Dictionnaire de Pédagogie. Première partie. 2 vols. (Paris, Hachette.)

(All these contain good articles on Froebel and his system. Schmidt's article is very sympathetic; Guillaume's article, in the *Dictionnaire*, is well-informed but unappreciative.)

Kindergarten and Child-culture. Edited by Dr. Henry Barnard. (Hartford, by the Editor.)

(This is a mine of wealth. It contains (i.) translations of almost the whole of Dr. Lange's vol. i.: (ii.) a translation, by Miss A. M. Christie, of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow's *Child and Child Nature*: and (iii.) a large number of tracts (some translated) by Prof. J. H. von Fichte, Fischer, Guillaum, Madame Schraeder, Madame de Portugall, Miss Peabody, Miss Susan E. Blow, Dr. W. T. Harris, Mrs. Louise Pollock, Mrs. H. Mann, etc.)

BIOGRAPHICAL

Friedrich Fröbel: die Entwickelung seiner Erziehungsidee in seinem Leben. Alexander Bruno Hanschmann. (Eisenach, J. Bacmeister.)

(This is the completest *Life* we possess; but is rather diffuse, and here and there somewhat emotional.)

Life of Froebel. Miss Shirreff. (London, Chapman & Hall.)

(Short, but interesting. Contains a translation of the fourteen Dresden letters to Froebel's first wife.)

Autobiography of Froebel. Translated by Michaelis and Moore. (London, Sonnenschein.)

Reminiscences of Froebel. Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow. Translated by Mrs. H. Mann. (Boston, Lee & Shepard.)

(Covers the years 1851-52. Valuable for its incidental exposition of theories.)

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Child and Child Nature. Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow. Translated by Miss A. M. Christie. (London, Sonnenschein.)

Hand-work and Head-work. The same author and translator. (London, Sonnenschein.)

The Kindergarten at Home. Miss Shirreff. (London, Joseph Hughes.)

Kindergarten Essays. Ten lectures by Miss Shirreff and others. (London, Sonnenschein.)

The Home, the Kindergarten, and the Primary School. Miss E. P. Peabody. (London, Sonnenschein.)

Lectures for Kindergartners. The same. (Boston, Heath & Co.)

Praxis des Kindergartens. August Köhler. 3 vols. Weimar, Böhlau.)

Froebel's First Gifts (abridged from Köhler). Mary Gurney. Part i. (London, Myers.)

Froebel's Plane Surfaces (do.). Gifts 7-10. The same. Part ii. (London, Myers.)

Froebel's Course of Paper-cutting. Edited and supplemented by Fräulein E. Heerwart. (London, Sonnenschein.)

Manuel pratique des jardins d'enfants de Fr. Fröbel à l'usage des institutrices et des mères de famille. J. F. Jakobs. (Brussels, Claason.)

A Practical Guide to the English Kindergarten. J. and B. Ronge. (London, Myers.)

The praxis of the Kindergarten. Hermann Goldammer. Translated by Wright.

Synoptical Table of Froebel's Principles. Mme. de Portugall. (London, Myers.)

Principles of the Kindergarten. Miss Lyschinska. (London, Isbister.)

Kindergarten Drawing. Parts i.-vi. Fräulein E. Heerwart. (London, Myers.)

Manual of Kindergarten Drawing. N. Moore. (London, Sonnenschein.)

Music for the Kindergarten. Fräulein E. Heerwart. (London, Boosey.)

Kindergarten Songs and Games. Mrs. Berry and Mme. Michaëlis. (London, Myers.)

Thirty-two Kindergarten Songs. J. F. Borschitzky. (London, Myers.)

The Kindergarten Guide. Maria Kraus-Boelte and John Kraus. (London, Myers.)

Nos. 1 and 2. Gifts 1-6. 144 pages, 547 illustrations.

No. 3. Tablet-laying. 94 pages, 553 illustrations.

No. 4. Jointed lath, stick-plaiting, stick-laying. 134 pages, 309 illustrations.

No. 5. Ring-laying and thread-laying. 82 pages, 468 illustrations.

The Paradise of Childhood. Prof. Ed. Wiebe. (London, Sonnenschein.)

INDEX

A

Accuracy, 88.
Addition, teaching of, 167.
Advancement of Learning, 112.
Algebra, 144, 169.
Analysis, 126.
Animals and plants, care of, 61, 72, 100.
Anstalt für Kleinkinderpflege, 36.
Areas, setting out of, 142.
Art, educational value of, 61.
Assimilation, 125.
Atheism, Bacon's Essay on, 44.
Autobiography, Froebel's, 6 note; 8.

B

Bamberg, 14.
Basket, *The*, 72.
Barop, Johannes Arnold, 24, 36, 42.
Bead-threading, 146, 148.
Beauty, sense of, 61, 84, 121, 144.
Biography, teaching of, 161.
Blankenburg, 36.
Book for Mothers, Pestalozzi's, 2, 5, 18.
"Bo-peep," 73.
Botany, 174.
Bothmann, Emma, Froebel's letter to, 155.
Brain, growth of, 156.
Browne, Sir Thomas, 44.
Browning, Robert, 81.
Building, 142.
"Bump, see how my Baby's Falling," 74.
Burgdorf, 34, 35.

C

Carlyle, 44.
Checkers, drawing in (see Drawing).
"Chickens, The," 71.
Child's relations with mankind, 73.
"Church-door and the Window, The," 75, 86.
Classification, teaching of, 174.
Cognition, stages of, 156.
Collected writings of Fr. Froebel, Dr. Lange's, 26.
College of Husbandry, propositions for, 183.
Comenius, 2.
Comparison, 138.
Conception, in intermediate school, 159.
Concrete, use of, in kindergarten, 132.
Cone, revolving, 139 note.
Connectedness, 52, 54, 71, 84, 97, 130, 195; of humanity, 48.
Construction, 141.
Constructive imagination (see Imagination).
Continuity, 51, 54, 122, 152.
Contrasts, Froebel's doctrine of, 126; Connection of, 50.
Creativeness, 54, 72, 80, 98, 117, 121, 130, 147.
Critical moments in the Froebelian community, 23 note.
Criticisms on Froebel's system and its extension, 163 note.
Cube, 139, 140; analysis of, 142.

Curiosity, the child's, 80, 100.
 Curriculum, the school's, connection with kindergarten, 176.
Cygnæus, Uno, 190.
 Cylinder, 139.

D

De Imitatione Christi, 44.
 Detention, second period of, 157.
De Portugale, Madame, 163.
Des Kindes Zeichenlust, 57 note.
 Development, 19, 30, 47, 68, 91, 118, 122 (see also Evolution).
 Development of humanity, 112.
Diesterweg, 39, 108.
 Dogmatic religious teaching, 86, 119.
 Doing, 54 (see also Creativeness and Self-activity).
 Drawing, 133, 146, 158, 164, 171.
 Drawing in checkers, 56, 148, 163, 171.

E

Education of Man, The, 25; chap. iii; 56, 59, 93, 94, 97, 110, 114, 117, 127, 150, 153, 155, 171, 173, 178, 179 note.
 Elements, teaching of, 55.
 Environment, child's, 69.
Ergastula Literaria, 182.
 Ethics, beginning of, 113.
Evenings of a Hermit, 184.
 Evil, treatment of, in kindergarten period, 83, 87, 121.
 Evolution, general theory of, 46; as applied to education, 47, 51; man subject to laws of, 50 (see also Development).
 Expression of knowledge, 125, 129.
 Expression of self, child's, 130.

F

Family, The, 74.
Family Journal of Education, The, 25.
Fénelon, 59.
Fichte, J. von, 96.
Fish, The, 71.
 Frankfurt-on-Main, 14, 17.

Freedom, 192.
Froebel, Christian, 7 note, 21, 24, 42.
Christoph, 7 note, 10, 14, 21.
 Frau, death of, 37.
 Friedrich Wilhelm August, born, 6; early years, 7; life with Hoffmann, 8; school at Stadt-Ilm, 9; apprenticed to a forester, 10; studies at Jena, 12; at Bamberg, 14; works with Dr. Grüner, 15; visits Yverdon, 16; has sons of Frau von Holzhausen as pupils, 17; at Göttingen, 18; at Berlin, 19; enlists, 20; assistant to Weiss, 20; at Keilhau, 23; marries, 24; at Wartensee, 33; at Burgdorf, 35; at Blankenburg, 36, settles at Liebenstein, 39; marries Luise Levin, 40; at Marienthal, 40; death, 42.
 Karl, 40.

G

Games, 102, 162; choice of (see Songs).
 Gardening, 61, 102, 115, 150.
 Geography, beginning of, 162.
 Geometry, plane, 143, 144, 148.
 Gesture, 131.
 Gifts, 69; first nine, 138-144; qualities of, 145.
 Gift work, relation to occupations, 147.
 Gifts and occupations, system of, 56 note.
 Giving out (see Expression).
 Godlikeness, 94.
 Göttingen, University of, 18.
 Graphic representation (see Drawing).
Griesheim, 21.
Grüner, Dr., 14.

H

Hanschman (see Life of Froebel).
 "Happy brothers and sisters, The," 74.

Heerwart, Fraulein, 170.
 Helba, proposed institute at, 33, 189.
 Heredity (see Connectedness of Humanity).
 Herzog, 31.
Hide and seek, 73.
 "Hide! baby," 74.
High Schools for Girls and Kindergartens, 40.
 Hildburghausen, 13.
 History, beginning of, 162.
 Hoffmann, Superintendent, 8, 14.
 Hoffmeister, Henrietta Wilhelmine, 24, 42.
How Lina learns to write and read, 162.

I

Imagination, constructive, 160.
 Individuality in education, 87, 96.
 Industrial schools, 182.
 Intermediate schools, 159; chap. viii.
 Intuition, 4, 155, 159.

J

Jena, University of, 12.
 Jesus, his life the model, 119.

K

Keilhau, 23, 42; report on institute at, 26.
 Kindergarten, first idea of, 33; name thought of, 37; forbidden by Prussian government, 41; methods of, chap. vii; the system, 102; description of ideal, 103; relation to home, 106; to school, 157, 180; books on, 136 note.

Knowledge, meaning of, 125; growth of, 127 (see also Expression).

Koehler, geometrical paper, folding of, 170.

Koseliedchen, 63.

Kotzebue, 26.

L

Lange, Dr. Wichard, 16, 19, 39, 40, 42.

Langethal, Henry, 20, 23, 35, 36.
 Language, child's use of, 134, 156, 162.

Law in nature, 98, 108, 111.
Letters on Art, Winckelmann's, 13.

Levin, Luise, 39, 40.
 Liebenstein, 39.

Life of Froebel, Hanschmann's, 6 note.

Little Artist, The, 72.
Little Gardener, The, 72.

Locke, 3, 59.
 Luther, 59.

M

Manual training, 187.
 Marienthal, 40, 42.
 Mat-plaiting, 148.
 Mean, the reconciling, 127.
 Meiningen, Duke of, 32, 189.
 Memory in intermediate schools, 160.
Menschen Erziehung, Die (see Education of Man).

Method of Education, Rosmini's, 156.

Middendorff, Alwine, 39.
 Middendorff, William, 20, 23, 35, 38, 42.

Mind, activities of, 49.
 Modelling, 146, 148; in intermediate school, 171.

Morality, 84, 118, 120.
 Motion, idea of, communicated, 142.

Movements of body, 99, 131.

Mowing Grass, 71.
 Music, 88, 99.
Mutter- und Kose-lieder, 38, 58, 93, chap. iv; defects of, 67.

N

National Froebel Union, 186 note.
 Nature, knowledge of, 71, 175; study of, 60; in intermediate school, 172; ethical effects of contact with, 150.

Nest, The, 71.
 New Jersey Council of Education, 187.

Number, teaching of, 164.

O

Occupations, 39, 146; relation of to gift work, 147; in transition classes, 170.

Opposites (see Reconciliation).

P

Pädagogik des Kindergartens, 57 note, 136 note, 150.

Painting in intermediate school, 171.

Pantheism, Froebel's, 95, 109.

Paper-cutting, 148.

Paper-folding, 146, 148.

Paper-mosaic, 143, 146, 148.

Put-a-cake, 71.

Payne, Joseph, 101.

Pestalozzi, 1, 16, 18, 106, 183; relation of, to Froebel, 185.

Petty, Sir William, his plan for an Industrial School, 182.

Phonic-analytic method, 163.

Physical exercise, 66, 99, 131.

Pictures, use of, 80, 88, 133.

Plamann's Pestalozzian School, 19.

Plato, 59, 95, 102.

Play, 59, 101, 116.

Plaything, the first, 136.

Preparatory School (see Intermediate).

Problem of Popular Education, von Fichte's, 5.

Punishment, 122.

Q

Quintilian, 59.

R

Reading, methods of teaching, 163.

Reconciling mean (see Mean).

Reconciliation of opposites, 50, 127.

Relativity, 140.

Religio Medici (see Sir Thomas Browne).

Religion, 81, 111, 194; the child's, 82, 118.

Religious Instruction, 118.

Reminiscences of Fr. Froebel, Dr. Lange's, 6 note, 23 note; of Bar-

oness von Marenholtz-Bülow, 23 note, 69, 84, 113.

Rosmini, 56, 126 (see also Method of Education).

Rousseau, 3, 93.

S

Salomon, 190.

Schola Materna Gremii, 31.

School, functions of, 154; contrasted with Kindergarten, 157; application of Froebel's principles to, 181.

Schnyder, 33.

Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Princess Regent of, 18, 36.

Self-activity, 29, 49, 52, 54, 129, 130.

Self, comprehension of, by child, 71.

Senses, exercise of child's, 69; first awakening of, 113.

Sewing, Kindergarten, 146, 148.

Sloyd, 54, 146, 190.

Smell, sense of, 72.

Smell Song, 72.

Solid forms, 146, 148.

Song, 132, 162.

Songs and games, choice of, 89 note; in Intermediate Schools, 162.

Songs relating to human occupations, 76; for city children, 77; dealing with natural phenomena, 83.

Speech (see Language).

Spencer, Herbert, 47, 93 note, 125.

Sphere, 138.

Stadt-Ilm, School at, 8.

Sticks and rings, 57, 148.

Stories, 59, 135, 161.

Symbols, 164.

Symbolism, Froebel's, 46, 83.

Synthesis, 126.

T

Taking in (see Assimilation)

Taste, sense of, 72.

Taste Song, 72.

Technical Instruction, 184.

Thomas à Kempis, 44.

Trade Schools (see Industrial).

Training of mothers, 35.
 Transition classes, chap. viii.
 Trigonometry, 144.

U

Unity, 91.

V

Vermittlungsschule, Die, 155 note.
 Von Fichte, J. H., 5.
 Von Holzhausen, Frau, 17.
 Von Marenholtz-Bülow, Baroness Bertha, 39, 120, 193; her description of a Kindergarten, 108; books of, 90 (see also Reminiscences).

W

Wartensee, 33.
Weathercock, The, 64.
Weekly Journal of Education, 40.

Weiss, Professor, 19, 20.
 "Who Killed Cock Robin?" 79.
 Whole and parts, teaching of, 140.
 Willisau, 34, 36 note.
 Winckelmann (see Letters on Art).
Windows, The, 73.
 Women, Mission to, 35.
 Wood-carving (see Sloyd).
 Wordsworth, 46, 69, 70, 71, 75, 82, 84.
 Work, Froebel's views on, 58, 75, 103, 115, 193; child's share in domestic, 116, 149.
 Writing, 163.

Y

Yverdon, 17.

Z

Zeh, Superintendent, 26.



The Great Educators.

*A Series of Volumes by Eminent Writers, presenting in their entirety
"A Biographical History of Education."*

I.

ARISTOTLE, and the Ancient Educational Ideas. By THOMAS DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D. Price 5s.

Times.—“Dr. Davidson, ‘by tracing the whole history of Greek education up to Aristotle and down from Aristotle, to show the past which conditioned his theories, and the future which was conditioned by them,’ produces a very readable sketch of a very interesting subject.”

Daily Chronicle.—“We can follow Dr. Davidson through all the details of his clear and concise account of the course of Greek education. . . . There is much that will prove interesting to the general reader.”

II.

LOYOLA, and the Educational System of the Jesuits. By Rev. THOMAS HUGHES, S.J. Price 5s.

Saturday Review.—“That the Society of Jesus has produced the most skilful trainers of youth and the most cunningly-devised system of education that the world has ever seen, are, we suppose, matters of common knowledge. Few, however, have any clear idea of the method of education adopted by the Society; for though the literature on the subject is not small, it is for the most part contained in books of a kind that the ordinary reader is not likely to meet with. This volume . . . will, therefore, probably be welcomed by others besides those specially interested in the theories and methods of education.”

III.

ALCUIN, and the Rise of the Christian Schools. By Professor ANDREW F. WEST, Ph.D. Price 5s.

Times.—“Not a little has been written upon Alcuin by Guizot, Hallam, Mr. Mullinger, Bishop Stubbs, and several foreign writers of authority and repute; but Professor West’s monograph is a valuable contribution, based upon original and independent study, to our knowledge of an obscure but important period in the history of European learning and education.”

IV.

FROEBEL, and Education by Self-Activity. By H. COURTHOPE BOWEN, M.A. Price 5s.

Educational Times.—“This is a book which it does one good to read. It exalts and expands the teacher’s calling, showing that it affords scope for profound thought, the highest zeal, and complete devotion. One feels after reading it . . . that aims and theories of education are not necessarily as confused and conflicting as we often find them, and practice in education need not be so wanting in system and stability.”

V.

ABELARD, and the Origin and Early History of Universities. By GABRIEL COMPAYRÉ, Rector of the Academy of Poitiers. Price 5s.

Morning Post.—“Mr. Compayré’s aim is not to present a complete and thorough history of the Universities of the Middle Ages, confining himself as he does to a sketch, treating of the beginnings, the internal organization, programmes of study, methods of instruction, the general spirit and external influence of European Universities. In dealing with these various topics, his treatment is on the whole a great success, especially in his elaborate defence of the older universities against the attacks of the Humanists of the Renaissance. This work is unquestionably one of great merit, and will be of use to many students.”

The Great Educators—continued.

VI.

HERBART AND THE HERBARTIANS. By CHARLES DE GARMO, Ph.D. Price 5s.

Standard.—“Dr. de Garmo has written a singularly interesting account of Johann Friedrich Herbart, Professor of Philosophy at Göttingen at the beginning of the present century, and his theory of education as unfolded by himself and developed by his successors. . . . Not the least valuable pages of the book are those which contain an account of the attempts which are now in progress in both countries to give practical effect to Herbart's views.”

VII.

THOMAS AND MATTHEW ARNOLD, and their Influence on English Education. By Sir JOSHUA FITCH, M.A., LL.D. Price 5s.

Athenaeum.—“Sir Joshua Fitch has done his work well and pleasantly. He goes over the well-known story with a good deal of freshness, and selects characteristic dicta of Thomas Arnold's with judgment. He has done well to draw attention to real services rendered by Matthew Arnold in what came to be the task of his life. In dealing with the educational side of both men he is at his best, and all teachers should read and mark Chapters III., IV., V., IX., and X.”

VIII.

HORACE MANN, and the Common School Revival in the United States. By B. A. HINSDALE, Ph.D., LL.D. Price 5s.

Bookman.—“Beside the great names of the other heroes of this series—Loyola, Abelard, Froebel, to name a few—Horace Mann's sounds humble and uninspiring. He was no thinker, no founder of a system of universal influence, but a clever and a devoted organizer of primary education. But his administrative capacities, his persistence, his single-mindedness, the large scale on which he worked, and the successful results, give him the right to an honourable place among the faithful servants of the world, a claim abundantly recognised in his own country and in Europe. The organization of the common school education in the United States is of more than historic interest. Some of Mann's problems are still ours, and the story of his moving of the sluggish waters will be inspiring to the educational reformers of to-day.”

IX.

ROUSSEAU, and Education according to Nature. By THOMAS DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D. Price 5s.

Academy.—“This is an important book. It is so uniformly good that it defies sampling by way of quotation. We can only advise our readers to add it to their libraries; and there are few that need hesitate to do so on the score of limit of interest. The influence of Rousseau, if in some ways indirect rather than direct, has been considerably wider and deeper in many departments of human effort and aspiration than is commonly recognised. It has affected opinion and practice in politics and economics, in literature and art, in philosophy and religion, no less than in education; there, in succinct form, will be found a masterly exposition and criticism of some of the most striking and typical views of one who was a great thinker, many of whose thoughts have borne better fruit than they seemed to promise.”

X.

PESTALOZZI, and the Foundation of the Modern Elementary Schools. By A. PINLOCHE. Price 5s.

Pall Mall Gazette.—“Sure to meet with a hearty welcome. We recommend it as a plain, straightforward study of a movement fraught with interest and importance for educationalists in all countries.”

DATE DUE



AA 001 143 022 0



3 1210 00449 0171

